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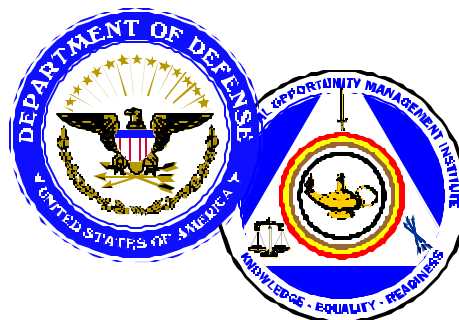
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH

PROCEEDINGS

**4th Biennial EO/EEO
Research Symposium**

**December 5-7, 2001
Cocoa Beach, Florida**

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Proceedings

4th Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium

December 5-7, 2001
Cocoa Beach, Florida

Sponsored by
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)
Research & Evaluation Committee
Directorate of Research
Patrick Air Force Base, Florida



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Proceedings
4th Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium

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Foreword

The Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute's Biennial Equal Opportunity/Equal Employment Opportunity (EO/EEO) Research Symposiums serve as forums for researchers to share their investigations of EO/EEO issues with other researchers and military policy makers. This publication provides a culmination of the research presented at the 4th Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium. The document is organized in chronological order as they were discussed at the symposium.

There were four structured activities at the symposium:

1. **Invited Presentations:** These sessions featured paper presentations by researchers whose topics are of a broad nature or whose subject matter may or may not be directly related to military EO/EEO. Most of the researchers do not have an ongoing relationship with the Institute and were specifically invited to share their research.
2. **Paper Sessions:** These were comprised of research papers submitted in response to the 2001 Call for Papers. Most topics are related to military EO/EEO and most of the researchers have a regular association with the Institute.
3. **Panel Session:** This session was designed to bring researchers together to discuss climate surveys.
4. **Poster Session:** This activity features display presentations that allow face-to-face interaction between authors and viewers.

DEOMI does not necessarily endorse the views presented, nor does DEOMI bear responsibility for the contents of the presentations. In each case, **the views presented are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies unless otherwise indicated.** Each author bears full responsibility for the content and accuracy of their work.

Acknowledgments

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The Many Costs of Discrimination: The Case of Middle-Class African Americans¹

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Abstract

The research begins by describing and analyzing the character and range of racial discrimination's costs by examining the African American experience in workplaces. Our exploratory research questions are the following: Is there a link between reported workplace discrimination and personal stress for African Americans? If so, what are the psychological and physical consequences of the racially related stress? In addition, what are the family and community consequences of the racially related stress? Finally, what are the broader implications of these findings for questions of racial discrimination and hostile racial climates in U.S. workplaces?

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

¹ The authors wish to thank Dr. Roy Brooks, University of San Diego School of Law, Dr. Sharon Rush, University of Florida School of Law, Dr. Hernan Vera, University of Florida Department of Sociology, Dr. Juan Perea, University of Florida School of Law, and Ms. Darby Fitzgerald, University of Florida School of Law, for their invaluable comments and suggestions on drafts of this manuscript.

The Many Costs of Discrimination: The Case of Middle-Class African Americans

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A century ago, the pioneering social psychologist, William James, noted that there is "no more fiendish punishment" for human beings than social isolation and marginalization.² Among those who are isolated and treated as less than human in social interaction an "impotent despair" often develops. In the last two decades, social scientists have documented the severe effects that marginalization and dehumanization have on the physical and emotional health of human beings in a variety of settings.³

Writing in the 1940s, Gunnar Myrdal underscored the link of discrimination to social isolation and caste-like marginalization.⁴ From this perspective, which we extend in this article, the serious damage that discrimination inflicts on its victims includes marginalization and dehumanization, which in turn can have serious physical and psychological consequences. In various accounts, African Americans see themselves as "outsiders" excluded from recognition, important positions, and significant rewards in predominantly White settings.⁵ In the workplace, our focus here, they cite discriminatory training and promotions, lack of social support, racial threats and epithets, racist joking, and subtle slights.⁶

²William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (1890).

³Robert H. Lauer & Warren H. Handel, *Social Psychology: The Theory and Application of Symbolic Interactionism* (1977).

⁴Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: Volume 1* 57-59 (1964) (1944).

⁵Sara E. Gutierrez, et al., *Job Stress and Health Outcomes Among White and Hispanic Employees*, in *Job Stress in a Changing Workforce* 107-125 (Gwendolyn P. Keita and Joseph J. Hurrell eds., 1994).

⁶See Robert Blauner, *Black Lives, White Lives* (1989); Philomena Essed, *Everyday Racism: Reports from Women of Two Cultures* (1990); Lois Benjamin, *The Black Elite* (1991); Margaret A. Turner et al., *Opportunities Denied: Discrimination in Hiring*, Report 91-9 (1991); Joe R. Feagin & Melvin P. Sikes, *Living With Racism: The Black Middle Class Experience* (1994); Lawrence Bobo & Susan A. Suh, *Surveying Racial Discrimination: Analyses from a Multiethnic Labor Market* (1995) (unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology: University of California, Los Angeles).

Over the last decade, little systematic, in-depth research has been conducted in the social and health sciences on the personal or family costs of this racial exclusion and lack of social integration in the workplace.⁷ The early research exploring racial differences in health mostly blamed African Americans' biological characteristics for the high morbidity and mortality rates in their communities.⁸ Today, much public health research similarly focuses on the supposed deviant lifestyles of African Americans as the cause of their unique health problems.⁹ As we see it, there needs to be a renewed social science focus on the costs of racial animosity and discrimination for African Americans, for other people of color, and for U.S. society generally. In this article, we begin this major project of describing and analyzing the character and range of racial discrimination's costs by examining African American experience in workplaces. Our exploratory research questions are the following: Is there a link between reported workplace discrimination and personal stress for African Americans? If so, what are the psychological and physical consequences of that racially related stress? In addition, what are the family and community consequences of that racially related stress? Moreover, what are the broader implications of these findings for questions of racial discrimination and hostile racial climates in U.S. workplaces?

Integration and a Hostile Racial Climate

What is the legal and constitutional relevance of our research about the consequences and effects of everyday racism? We argue here that many U.S. workplaces cause great harm to Black workers, and probably to other workers of color. Although the legal standard for proving a "hostile work environment" was originally extended from racial discrimination cases to sexual discrimination cases,¹⁰ the courts have so far not allowed the kind of evidence to demonstrate a hostile racial climate that they now allow to demonstrate a hostile sexual climate. Recently, in Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that:

. . . [a]lthough racial and sexual harassment will often take different forms, and standards may not be entirely interchangeable, we think there is good sense in seeking generally to harmonize the standards of what amounts to actionable harassment.¹¹

To this point in time, although the legal standards are ostensibly the same for proving hostile racial and sexual climates, in practice the courts are more lenient in the evidence they allow to prove hostile sexual climates than they are in the case of evidence for proof of hostile

⁷See Guitierrez, et al., *supra* note 4, at 110.

⁸See Susan L. Smith, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890-1950* 6 (1995).

⁹*Id.* at 169.

¹⁰*Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57, 66-67 (1986) (following *Henson v. City of Dundee*, 682 F.2d 897, 902 (11th Cir. 1982)).

¹¹*Faragher v. City of Boca Raton*, 111 F.3d 1530 (11th Cir. 1997), *cert. granted*, 118 S. Ct. 2275 (1998).

racial climates. This tendency may be due in part to the fact that while two female Supreme Court justices (particularly Ruth Bader Ginsberg) actively rule to protect the rights of women, and in doing so set legal precedents for the lower courts, African Americans have no strong voices or allies on the high court. Only Justices Ruth Bader Ginsberg, John Paul Stevens, and Stephen Gerald Breyer have sometimes acted as “allies” to African Americans in their decisions. Justice Clarence Thomas is the only person able to know first hand what it is like to be an African American, but as yet, he has failed to strenuously represent the needs or protect the interests of African Americans.¹²

We see no reason that this workplace standard should diverge, for, as we show below, many workplaces can be very hostile and damaging for African Americans. Not only is workplace integration a potential *cause* of stress for African Americans, they are not adequately protected by the law in these often hostile environments. In 1993, in Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc., the Supreme Court decided that a victim of sexual harassment did not have to prove “severe psychological injury” in order to be compensated for sexist discrimination. Writing for the majority, Justice Sandra Day O’Connor made it clear that a hostile sexual climate could be demonstrated by evidence of a string of humiliating actions or offensive comments by an employer:

Whether an environment is hostile or abusive can be determined only by looking at all the circumstances. These may include the frequency of the discriminatory conduct; its severity; whether it is physically threatening or humiliating, or a mere offensive utterance; and whether it reasonably interferes with an employee’s work performance.¹³

Thus, the court determined that a single major act of discrimination is not necessary to prove sexism in the workplace. Continuing patterns of minor acts are sufficient. In contrast, in cases alleging a hostile racial climate, African Americans and other people of color attempting to remedy racial discrimination in the workplace are subject to a much more stringent burden of proof. Moderately derogatory racial comments over time are generally not enough.

In Harris, the standard was that harassing conduct need not have caused serious psychological distress, but it had to be “severe or pervasive enough to alter the conditions of the victim’s employment.” Distinction was also to be made between physically threatening behaviors and “mere offensive utterance[s].”¹⁴ In Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, the Court further clarified this standard, explaining that the Harris factors should serve as a filter to eliminate complaints regarding “ordinary tribulations of the workplace” such as “occasional teasing.”¹⁵ Statutory relief should only be given, according to the Faragher court, not for

¹²See, e.g., Rudolph Alexander, Jr., *Justice Clarence Thomas’s First year on the Supreme Court: A Reason for African Americans to be Concerned* 27 *Journal of Black Studies* 378-394 (1997) (for a summary of Justice Thomas’s opinions in cases relevant to issues of race and racism during his first year on the Court).

¹³*Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 510 U.S. 17 (1993).

¹⁴*See id.*

¹⁵*Faragher v. City of Boca Raton*, 111 F.3d. 1530 (11th Cir. 1997), *cert. granted* 118 S. Ct. 2275 (1998).

“episodic patterns of racial antipathy,” but for “incidents of harassment . . . occur[ring] with a regularity that can reasonably be termed pervasive.”¹⁶ Thus, it is left up to the courts’ discretion to decide when a company or defendant should be held liable for allowing a hostile environment to exist. It is also up to the courts to determine when that hostile environment is “pervasive enough to alter the conditions of the victim’s employment.” Often what may be a hostile racial environment to most people of color is not regarded as such by courts on which Americans of color are not significantly represented. As we will see in our data presented below, many middle class African Americans report work environments where harassment and discrimination reshape the conditions of work.

In one 1996 case, Aman v. Cort Furniture Rental Corporation, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit decided that White supervisors and coworkers’ repeated use of terms such as “another one,” “one of them,” and “poor people,” to refer to two Black employees constituted racial “code words,” which created a “complex tapestry of discrimination” for which the company was liable.¹⁷ This court recognized subtle discrimination as constitutive of a hostile workplace. The standards the court asserted for proving a hostile workplace were (1) that the employee suffered intentional discrimination, (2) that the treatment was pervasive and regular, (3) that the discrimination detrimentally affected a particular employee and (4) that the discrimination would also detrimentally affect “a reasonable employee in a similar situation.” These four standards are similar to those set forth in the hostile sexual climate cases.

Most recently, however, it seems that the courts are “backpedaling” on issues regarding racial discrimination.¹⁸ For example, in a recent case heard in the California Court of Appeals, Etter v. Veriflo Corporation, frequent racist epithets directed at a Black man were not “severe or pervasive” enough to warrant legal remedy.¹⁹ Etter alleged that his supervisor directed toward him and other Black employees racially derogatory terms, among them “Buckwheat,” “Jemima,” “boy,” and that she mocked supposed Black pronunciation of certain words. However, the court asserted that Etter was referred to as “Buckwheat” by his supervisor “only” twice, and also noted that Etter could not remember the precise dates when his supervisor called him “boy.” Further, the court opinion referred twice to the fact that Etter laughed at the racially insulting comments of his supervisor, implying that the negativism of racist comments was only “in the head” of the victim and thus legally benign. In fact, Etter may have laughed nervously or only in an attempt to get along with his boss at the time, a common report of Black employees.²⁰ This court reaction reminds us of Justice Henry Brown’s opinion in the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case:

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff’s argument to consist in the

¹⁶Lopez v. S.B. Thomas, Inc. 831 F.2d 1184, 1189 (2d Cir. 1987) (cited with approval in *Faragher* at 676).

¹⁷Aman v. Cort Furniture Rental Corporation, 85 F.3d. 1074 (3d Cir. 1996).

¹⁸See Steven Keeva, *A Bumpy Road to Equality: Panelists Say Courts are Backpedaling on Minority Issues*, 82 ABA Journal 32 (1996).

¹⁹Etter v. Veriflo Corporation, 67 Cal.App.4th 457, 79 Cal.Rptr.2d 33 (1st Dist. Ct. App. 1998).

²⁰See Feagin and Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 135-222.

assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the White race to an inferior position. We imagine that the White race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption.²¹

Here the Chief Justice and his associate judges, all White, explicitly say that it was only Plessy's perception that he faced humiliating segregation. As the White justices saw it, any feelings by Plessy or other African Americans that Whites saw them as inferior was just in their heads---a classic example of blaming the victim, given the pervasiveness of extreme anti-Black racism at the turn of the century.

The Etter court implied a similar view of African Americans' experiences with discrimination in that they found it relevant to their decision that Etter had previously filed discrimination charges against another employee. The only possible reasons to mention this fact are to imply that Etter is overly sensitive, or "paranoid," or is using his racial classification for the financial gain that might be won through a successful discrimination suit.

The jury in the Etter case was specifically instructed to consider whether "a reasonable person of the Plaintiff's race would have found the racial conduct complained of to be sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of the person's employment and create a hostile or abusive working environment."²² However, one may question whether a predominantly White jury, or a White judge, is able to determine what is "reasonable" for an African American plaintiff. It has been shown in social science research that very few Whites have any significant understanding of the depths and severity of the everyday racism faced by the majority of Black Americans.²³ The Etter court, in deciding that the plaintiff's experiences were merely "episodic," and not "pervasive," may have failed to understand the severity and impact of those experiences for Black employees. One might speculate, based on the relative success of such cases regarding gender, that had Etter been a White female charging a sexual hostile workplace environment, the same number and severity of comments would have been enough for the court to find for the plaintiff. We will discuss possible reasons for this "selective sympathy" later in the paper.²⁴

²¹Plessy v. Ferguson 163 U.S. 537, 552 (1896).

²²Etter v. Veriflo Corporation, 67 Cal.App.4th 457, 79 Cal.Rptr.2d 33 (1st Dist. Ct. App. 1998).

²³See Joe R. Feagin & Hernan Vera, White Racism, (1995) at 135-194, Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5.

²⁴"By the phenomenon of racially selective sympathy and indifference I mean the unconscious failure to extend to a minority the same recognition of humanity, and hence the same sympathy and care, given as a matter of course to one's own group." Paul Brest, *Foreword: In Defense of the Antidiscrimination Principle*, 90 Harv. L. Rev. 1, 43 (1976) (While this concept is relevant, we see it as grounded in the "color blind" approach that is part of "Whiteness." Whites are most often not conscious that they are exercising "selective sympathy," but think that they are in fact treating everyone the same).

In this article we show how damaging the racial work climate can be, and why the courts need to take African American reports of a hostile racial work environment seriously. African Americans and other plaintiffs who allege discrimination must show how their workplaces actually do harm. Here we provide some clues on how to gather and present such evidence. The type of evidence we have gathered clearly shows how and why workplace climates can be hostile. We offer here some ideas for those seeking to present evidence of hostile racial climates.

Today, racial integration has not worked well for African Americans, as is evidenced by the continuing huge inequalities in income, education, and life expectancies between African Americans and Whites. Black families, on the average, still have an income only about 60 percent of that of White families and family wealth only about 10 percent of that of White families. In addition, White Americans live about 6-7 years longer, on the average, than Black Americans.²⁵ A major problem with racial integration, as it has operated so far, is that it has mixed varying numbers of people of color into predominantly White institutional settings without giving them enough power to alter those settings or enough resources to significantly improve their material standards as a group. As it is practiced and implemented, racial integration in the workplace has caused many Black Americans much anger and pain. Roy Brooks has documented the limitations of current integration, suggesting that African Americans might do better to practice “limited separation,” for their economic, physical, and psychological well-being.²⁶ Racial integration, as it has been implemented in U.S. society, is at best one-way assimilation into a White-framed culture and institutions. This haphazard mixing is not the appropriate standard for racial integration designed to undo past wrongs.

In order to have real integration rather than one-way assimilation, African Americans and other people of color must be given the same opportunity as Whites to change the contours of the workplace by their presence in it. This would mean two-way (or more) assimilation. At the very least, they must not be required to become “Whitewashed” and thus to give up significant parts of their identity in order to be accepted as coworkers, employees, and supervisors. Recent cases involving language issues for Latinos illustrate that these Americans of color are willing to make some concessions to be integrated into workplaces, but not to give up their language--a critical carrier of their culture-- just because Whites arbitrarily insist that they do so.²⁷ The parallel question is how much should African Americans have to give up to assimilate to historically White workplaces and other institutional settings? Clearly, they are willing to make concessions, but not to suffer nearly as much as they must under current circumstances.

The goal of real integration is much more than one-way assimilation into the workplace. As we see it, the goal should be two-way accommodation. Whites need to make major adaptations to those entering their institutions. They need to allow full incorporation into the workplace and give up racist practices, including the many practices that create the hostile

²⁵See Joe R. Feagin & Clairece Booher Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations* (1999), at 236-290.

²⁶Roy Brooks, *Integration or Separation?* (1996).

²⁷Juan F. Perea, *Los Olvidados: On the Making of Invisible People* 70 *New York University Law Review* 965-991 (1995).

climate. They need to change the number of employees to create a critical mass of African Americans and other workers of color. In defense of the critical-mass argument Richard Delgado argues that middle-class African Americans, because they are often alone in their workplace, are by necessity one-way assimilationists.²⁸ Because of their small numbers, African Americans often have little power to change the culture of the workplace and thus create two-way integration.

Most of our study participants are among the most economically successful of African Americans in two regions, those in the middle or upper-middle class. These middle-class African Americans have often been viewed as having achieved the American dream like the middle classes of White ethnic groups before them.²⁹ Ironically, workplace integration has in many cases created stressful situations for African Americans in White workplaces. For example, many of the first African Americans to integrate White workplaces were assigned to racialized jobs, such as positions as “community liaisons” or heads of affirmative action compliance departments. In these positions, they served to calm the potentially disruptive African American communities of the late 1960s, and many have been subsequently unable to move out of those jobs.³⁰ Accordingly, because the African American middle class was to a significant degree politically facilitated, it is vulnerable to political changes that make economic attainment more difficult.³¹ For individual middle class African Americans, with workplace integration may come forced assimilation, everyday discrimination, and the sense of being constantly watched and outvoted.³² Indeed, to this point in time workplace integration has been primarily one-way---African Americans and other people of color have been required to accept White norms without being given the power to affect the workplace culture.³³

Nathaniel R. Jones, a judge in the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals remarked that it seems that Justice Harlan’s statement in his dissenting opinion in Plessy v. Ferguson, that “justice is colorblind” is now being used against African Americans.³⁴ Several legal scholars have suggested race-conscious ways that standards might be changed to make it easier to show the damage caused by hostile racial workplaces. Barbara Flagg has discussed a situation that exists

²⁸Richard Delgado, *Affirmative Action as a Majoritarian Device: Or, Do You Really Want to Be a Role Model?* 89 Michigan Law Review 1226 (1991).

²⁹William J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978); Thomas B. Edsall & Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction* (1991).

³⁰See generally Sharon M. Collins, *Black Corporate Executives: The Making and Breaking of a Black Middle Class* (1997).

³¹See *id.*

³²See Anthony J. Marsellas, *Work and Well-Being in an Ethnoculturally Pluralistic Society: Conceptual and Methodological Issues*, in *Job Stress in a Changing Workplace* 147, 160 (Gwendolyn P. Keita and Joseph J. Hurrell eds., 1994).

³³See Collins, *supra* note 29, at 142.

³⁴Keava, *supra* note 17.

in predominantly White workplaces, which she calls the “transparency phenomenon.”³⁵ Because Whites are generally unaware of race, they are not conscious that decision-making in the historically White workplace that appears “neutral” often benefits Whites and disadvantages people of color. We suggest that this type of discrimination, which automatically advantages Whites and disadvantages people of color yet is thought of as “neutral standards,” is better referred to as “woodwork racism” because it is not transparent but commonplace, tough, and real.

Flagg suggests that instead of a disparate treatment test for racial discrimination, which relies on proof of intentional discrimination, courts should consider finding employers liable for failure to create a culturally diverse workplace environment that imbeds the sometimes divergent norms of newly integrated groups. Flagg suggests two possible new standards, a “foreseeable impact” approach, and an “alternatives” approach. Both would make it necessary for courts to consider the transparency phenomenon in deciding what constitutes a racially hostile workplace. Flagg advocates the alternatives approach, in which a historically and predominantly White workplace likely means White norms of decision-making, and thus activates strict judicial scrutiny. The employer is then responsible for explaining the criterion used in the particular workplace standard that led to the suit, after which the plaintiff may propose alternative criterion that might be used that would not have a disparate impact on the employee of color.

Charles Lawrence III has suggested another race-conscious solution to the difficulty of proving a racially hostile workplace. Lawrence asserts that the courts’ reliance on proof of intent and a show of individualized fault should be replaced with a “cultural meanings” standard.³⁶ Such a standard would take into account the unconscious and half-conscious discrimination practiced every day by Whites who have grown up in a racist society. Lawrence advocates that legal scholars might look to social science research to offer evidence of the racially derogatory cultural meanings of seemingly “neutral” acts. Although he admits that his approach will not be readily accepted and easily applied, and that it is optimistic in its challenge of commonly held beliefs, Lawrence’s insights might be useful in creating a new standard for judging the “reasonableness” of African Americans’ complaints of discrimination in their workplaces. Their hoary experience and collective memory must be factored into any meaningful legal approach that tries to judge hostile racial climates.

This article strives to contribute to the creation of this new standard by describing the character and impact of hostile workplace environments endured by many middle class African Americans, and the severe physical and psychological effects this workplace climate can have on their health and well-being. Some of the most harmful treatment by White perpetrators that is described by our respondents may be half-conscious or even unconscious. In line with Flagg’s transparency phenomenon, it is our suggestion that, until true racial integration is attained in predominantly White workplaces (with its impact on White attitudes and behavior), most of these places have the potential to be hostile to Black Americans and other workers of color.

³⁵Barbara Flagg, *Fashioning a Title VII Remedy for Transparently White Subjective Decisionmaking*, 104 Yale Law Journal 2009-2051 (1995).

³⁶Charles R. Lawrence III, *The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism* 39 Stanford Law Review 317 (1987).

The transparency phenomenon should also be applicable to the judicial system, which ordinarily and routinely operates according to White norms due to the predominance of White judges, prosecutors, and juries in most court systems. For example, a recent Amnesty International report on the U.S. justice system reported that in 1998 almost all (1,816 out of 1,838) of the district attorneys and similar officials with the power to make decisions about the death penalty were White. They also cite evidence on the use of peremptory challenges by prosecutors to keep juries as White as possible.³⁷ Flagg does not believe that transparency applies to “maleness” as it does to “Whiteness” in the workplace. This could perhaps be part of the reason that women have been more successful in proving hostile sexual workplace climates in the courts. Almost every White male judge and jury member has some close contact with a woman, whether she is his mother, daughter, wife, or friend. Thus, most will have some idea of what a “reasonable woman” might find offensive, as well as some sympathy toward a White woman.³⁸ However, evidence of racial hostility in White workplaces is also usually assessed by White juries and judges, and that evidence is often considered to be merely the “perceptions” of “oversensitive” African Americans. Thus, the test presented by the courts, in which the standard of “a reasonable person of the plaintiff’s race” is invoked, is empty of meaning. Most White people have very little understanding of what African Americans’ experience in White workplaces is like. The purpose of this article is to contribute to a more race conscious standard for assessing the damage often done to African Americans in White workplaces.

Research Methods

To begin this serious sociological examination of the perceived costs of racial discrimination, we conducted five exploratory focus groups with economically successful African Americans, two in the Midwest and three in the Southeast.³⁹ We used informants in several communities as starting points to suggest economically successful African Americans who were likely to have significant experience in predominantly White workplaces. We secured thirty-seven participants, sixteen in the Midwest and twenty-one in the Southeast. Of those reporting their age, the majority (17) were between thirty-one and forty years of age, with five between twenty-one and thirty and twelve between forty-one and sixty. Among those reporting their education, most (19) had pursued graduate work beyond a four-year college degree, while thirteen others had completed some college work or earned a college degree. Only one reported not having gone to college. Among those who reported family income, the majority (25) had an income that was \$31,000 a year or more, with fourteen reporting it above \$50,000. Eight listed a family income at \$30,000 a year or less. The respondents reported a variety of occupations, mostly in professional or managerial positions.⁴⁰ Twenty-seven were female, and ten were male.

³⁷See Amnesty International Report, United States of America: Rights for All (1998) at 109-111.

³⁸Some have referred to this as “selective sympathy.”

³⁹ This exploratory research utilized a sample of middle-class African American men and women. The findings suggested by our research should be extended to include both working class and under- and unemployed African Americans. Also, this study might be used to identify topics for quantitative public health research studies.

⁴⁰The participants included a dental assistant, several nurses, a community health specialist, a psychologist, a counselor, several government administrators, a planner, a social services coordinator, a sheriff, several postal service managers, teachers, a college admissions advisor, a college residential coordinator, two college students, several secretaries, a purchasing agent, and several corporate managers and engineers. Three held skilled blue-collar

In the analysis, we quote from 80 percent of the focus group participants.⁴¹

Racial Discrimination in the Workplace: The Social Generation of Anger and Rage

In the last decade, much argument has been directed at what has been termed "Black paranoia" about racism. For example, Dinesh D'Souza argues that middle class African Americans move too quickly to see racism and that Black rage is a "dysfunctional aspect of Black culture, a feature mainly of middle-class African American life" and that this rage represents "the frustration of pursuing unearned privileges" of affirmative action.⁴² In effect, this perspective suggests that African Americans have mainly themselves to blame for mental health problems associated with their racial histories.

In contrast, other researchers have found that African American "paranoia" is actually a healthy response to recurring experiences with racial discrimination. Some researchers call this response "cultural mistrust," which is a suspicion of Whites that is adopted by African Americans for survival.⁴³ Others have rejected the use of terms such as "mistrust" or "paranoia," which have implications of pathology, and instead use the term "racism reaction" to describe the protective orientation individual African Americans often assume in interactions with Whites.⁴⁴ Research suggests that health-care providers should be familiar with this Black response in order to avoid misdiagnoses of pathological paranoia.⁴⁵ This precaution is particularly important given the fact that, although African Americans are less likely than Whites to seek mental health care, those that do seek such care are more apt to be diagnosed with more serious mental illnesses.⁴⁶

jobs.

⁴¹We used Black moderators to conduct the focus groups. We are indebted to John McKnight for moderating three groups.

⁴²Dinesh D'Souza, *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society* 491 (1995).

⁴³Frances Terrell & Sandra Terrell, *An Inventory to Measure Cultural Mistrust Among Blacks*, 5 *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 180, 185 (1981).

⁴⁴Chalmer E. Thompson, et al., *Cultural Mistrust and Racism Reaction Among African-American Students*, 31 *Journal of College Student Development* 162, 168 (1990).

⁴⁵Charles R. Ridley, *Clinical Treatment of the Nondisclosing Black Client*, 39 *American Psychologist* 1234, 1244 (1984); *See id.*

⁴⁶See Ezra E. H. Griffith, & F.M. Baker, *Psychiatric Care of African Americans*, in *Culture, Ethnicity, and Mental Illness* 147-173 (Albert C. Gaw ed., 1993); Billy E. Jones & Beverly A. Gray, *Problems in Diagnosing Schizophrenia and Affective Disorders Among Blacks*, 37 *Hospital and Community Psychiatry* 61, 65 (1986); S. I. Abramowitz & Joan Murray *Race Effects in Psychotherapy*, in *Bias in Psychotherapy* 215-255 (Joan Murray and Paul R. Abramson eds., 1983); Raymond M. Costello, *Construction and Cross-Validation of an MMPI Black-White Scale*, 41 *Journal of Personality Assessment* 514, 519 (1977); Jerome M. Sattler, *The Effects of Therapist-Client Racial Similarity*, in *Effective Psychotherapy: A Handbook of Research* 151-190 (Alan S. Gurman & Andrew M. Razin eds., 1977). (This point will be discussed in more depth later in the paper).

In a now classical study, psychiatrists Grier and Cobbs examined the extent to which individual rage and depression among African Americans were determined by racial discrimination and asserted that Black mistrust of Whites is a reasonable attitude based on their experiences with racial discrimination.⁴⁷ In this study, they drew on extensive clinical experience with Black patients and concluded that the treatment of enraged African Americans must center on experiences with discrimination in the workplace and other sectors of the society in order for psychological healing to take place. They note that Black "people bear all they can and, if required, bear even more. However, if they are Black in present-day America they have been asked to shoulder too much. They have had all they can stand. They will be harried no more. Turning from their tormentors, they are filled with rage."⁴⁸ More recently, Cobbs has reiterated the point that rage against discrimination is commonplace among African Americans and for many continues to be turned inward.⁴⁹ Silent, all-consuming rage can lead to inner turmoil, emotional or social withdrawal, and physical health problems.

African Americans working or traversing historically White places often feel frustration, anguish, anger, or rage -- which may be immediately expressed in their words, the tone of their comments, or the character of facial expressions. All the focus group respondents indicated in one way or another that they suffer substantial and recurring stress and frustration because of racially hostile workplaces. As one Midwestern respondent put it, her symptoms of stress do not happen "on weekends or after five o'clock." In the focus group interviews, there is a consensus that much of their life-damaging stress at work does not come from the performance of the job itself but from hostile work environments.

Some social science research shows that a person's job satisfaction is rooted in how much work contributes to a sense of control and to self-esteem, in how much co-workers and supervisors are helpful in supporting one's work, and in whether rewards are meritocratic.⁵⁰ Black employees have difficulty doing their best work when conditions and rewards are inequitable. Recent data demonstrate that African Americans continue to be rewarded economically at lower levels than do White Americans. The broad economic costs of being Black include continuing disparities in income, wealth, and occupational position.⁵¹ Some portion of these disparities stems from the accumulating impact of discrimination over centuries, while another portion comes from the well-documented patterns of discrimination in contemporary employment settings.⁵²

⁴⁷William H. Grier & Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (1968).

⁴⁸*Id* at 4.

⁴⁹See Price M. Cobbs, *Critical Perspectives on the Psychology of Race*, in *The State of Black America*: 1988 61-70 (J. Dewart ed., 1988).

⁵⁰Robert Karasek & Tores Theorell, *Healthy Work* 69-72 (1990); John Mirowsky & Catherine E. Ross, *The Consolation-Prize Theory of Alienation*, 95 *American Journal of Sociology* 1505,1535 (1990); Catherine E. Ross & John

⁵¹Melvin L. Oliver & Thomas M. Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Equality* (1995); Joe R. Feagin & Clairece B. Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, Sixth Edition 258-260 (1999).

⁵²See Benjamin, *supra* note 5; Essed, *supra* note 5; Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5.

Black workers' lives are disrupted by lack of support and discrimination by co-workers and supervisors; these encounters can become "life crises" with a serious health impact similar to that of life crises like the death of a loved one.⁵³ Recent research on 726 African American men showed that the amount of decision latitude they were allowed on their job was linked to the risk of hypertension. African American men who were given more control over decisions on their jobs had fifty percent less prevalence of hypertension.⁵⁴ However, many of our respondents discussed being excluded from decision-making. As the reader will see, attempting to compensate for this lack of control can lead to specific physical health problems for African Americans.⁵⁵

In commenting on racially hostile or unsupportive workplace climates, some focus group participants described general feelings of frustration and anger, while others told of specific incidents that generated these feelings. A common source of anger is White use of racist epithets or similar derogatory references, which can trigger painful individual and collective memories. One Black professional described her reaction to an incident with a White administrator:

I have felt, I have felt extremely upset, anger, rage, I guess you would call it? One incident that comes to mind happened in a social setting. I was with some, with my former boss and some coworkers and a man who ran, like, a federal program. And we were having dinner, and he made a comment, and he had been drinking *heavily*. And he referred to Black people as "niggers" . . . I'm sitting -- he's there, and I'm here . . . And as soon as he said it, he looked in my face. And then he turned beet red, you know? [Laughter] And I said, "Excuse me, what did you say?" And he just couldn't say anything. And then my boss, my former boss, intervened and said, "Now, you know, move his glass, because he's had too much to drink." And you know just making all these excuses. So, of course, I got up and left. I said goodnight, and left. And the next morning, the man called me and apologized...his excuse was that he had been drinking, you know. And I said, "Well [gives name], we don't get drunk and just say things that we wouldn't otherwise say. You know, I don't get drunk and start speaking Spanish. [Laughter]. This was already in you, you know, in order for it to come out. [Voices: Exactly. Yeah, yeah.]...I mean so, keep your apology, I'm not interested⁵⁶.

Then she concluded with a comment on what she did with her anger:

⁵³Lydia Rappoport, *The State of Crisis: Some Theoretical Considerations*, in *Crisis Intervention: Selected Readings* 22, 31 (Howard J. Parad ed., 1965); Karasek & Theorell, *supra* note 49, at 71.

⁵⁴Amy B. Curtis, et al., *Job Strain and Blood Pressure in African Americans: The Pitt County Study*, 87 *American Journal of Public Health* 1297, 1303 (1997).

⁵⁵Sherman A. James, et al., *John Henryism and Blood Pressure Differences Among Black Men: The Role of Occupational Stressors*, 7 *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 259-275 (1984).

⁵⁶ Some quotes have been lightly edited; we deleted some filler words like "you know" and "uh" and corrected grammar in a few places. We have kept respondents anonymous by deleting or disguising names and places.

I was so angered that I wanted to get him, you know? I was out to get him. I called his boss in [names city]...who is Black, and informed him of what happened. Because he was referring to his boss, actually...And he said, "Yeah, he's out with the other niggers." You know, so he's calling his boss a nigger! And I think his boss should know that!

Similarly, an administrative secretary in the Midwest related an incident in which she had to explain the meaning of an epithet to her supervisor, who subsequently did nothing to reprimand the White employee who used the term:

A White individual in my department was talking to me, and he referred to me as "Buckwheat." My supervisor, when I reported it to her, told me that she did not feel that I looked like Buckwheat. Nor...did she understand what the term meant. Then she asked me to define it for her. She felt that [the term] was not derogatory. After I told her what it meant...she said, "Well, you don't exemplify that, so I wouldn't worry about that." She also refused to talk to the individual.

Many White observers may underestimate the impact of racist epithets. One Black psychologist told the senior author that when he hears the epithet "nigger" in the back of his mind he sees a Black man hanging from a tree. Individual and collective memories compound the damage of present-moment discrimination. The connection between hostile epithets and the brutality of racism are intimate parts of the collective memory of African Americans.

Robert Bellah and his associates have noted that communities "have a history" and "they are constituted by their past---for this reason we can speak of a real community as a 'community of memory,' one that does not forget its past."⁵⁷ Collective recollections are not always positive: "Remembering heritage involves accepting origins, including painful memories of prejudice and discrimination..."⁵⁸ Past and present discriminatory actions -- and the contending responses to that oppression -- become inscribed in collective memory. The community passes along information from one generation to the next about how to deal with discrimination and the anger it causes. A nurse's assistant noted the importance of generational advice and collective memory: "Kindness will kill a person. My grandmother told me that so many times. "Don't get upset. Don't fuss. Don't argue with them. Just smile at them." [Male voice: "That's true."] After this comment, a nurse in the same focus group spoke clearly about her rage over a traumatic workplace incident with a White coworker. She partly attributes the hostility in their relationship to racial tensions in her workplace:

Most of the time, you can do that, but it comes that point where you just can't. They have backed you into a corner. It's like a mouse, if you back him into a corner he's going to come out. So, then you just explode. I had that to happen on the job and I hit this person.

⁵⁷Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* 153 (1985).

⁵⁸*Id* at 157.

I physically, yes, I hit her. She's White and she called me a "bitch." [Moderator: After you hit her or before you hit her?] Before I hit her. That's why I hit her. She was abusive to the patients, and I had already had a conversation with her, with the supervisor ...she cursed me, and I'm looking at my supervisor who was her friend...Both of them are White, and this was her friend. You know, they would go out to lunch together, whatever. She cursed me in the patient area, and I'm looking to my supervisor for some kind of response to her. Well, after she didn't say anything to her, then I cursed her back. And then I thought well, "Okay, this isn't cool, let me just get away from the situation." And I went [to] the medication room just to separate myself.

Then she added this to complete the story:

Well, that wasn't good enough for that person. She had to come where I was and ask me a question that she could have asked the patient. And I wouldn't respond to her. I said I'm not going to talk to her when she just cursed me. She just cursed me, what's the point? So, then she said, "Well, you bitch." When she said that, I just really lost it and I was out of there and grabbed [her coworker] by the back of the hair and punched her in the mouth. Well, when that happened of course your job flashes before your face. It's like "God, I'm going to lose my job." Well, the supervisor had her back to us luckily...I was angry with myself because I allowed this person to get me off my ground. She wasn't worth [it]; I could have lost my job. She wasn't worth that and I was really angry with myself for allowing her to get me off my ground.

Many cases of discriminatory treatment entail a sequence of events, which take place over time; they consist of more than one encounter. The White woman cursed the respondent, who responded in turn, triggering another curse by the White woman. The respondent was angry at her own actions because she lost control over her own space. When she finished her account, one man in the group added this: "There's no one answer to a question like that. Each situation warrants a different response. I think what helps us as being Black now, we understand what these [White] people think." One consequence of racial oppression is the understanding one necessarily develops into the behavior of the oppressor, an effort and level of understanding usually not required of the latter.⁵⁹ Some research has linked stress caused by this bicultural stance African Americans must take to increased vulnerability to illnesses.⁶⁰

A female supervisor in the Southeast discussed the link between Black rage and unfair promotion practices in workplace settings:

I think a lot of anger and rage comes in when we...feel like -- like I have a friend, he's been with the company twenty years, and he didn't get a promotion. And he was well over-qualified. They gave it to a [White] guy who had been there only seven [years], and knows nothing. So, of course, I was kinda angry with the process, but it was because he

⁵⁹Peter Bell & Jimmy Evans, *Counseling with the Black Client: Alcohol Use and Abuse in Black America* (1981); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967).

⁶⁰See, e.g., F.M. Baker, *The Afro-American Life Cycle: Success, Failure, and Mental Health*, 79 *Journal of the National Medical Association* 625, 633 (1987).

was the ex-boyfriend of the girl who was doing the promoting. So, he was upset about it. But I told him, I felt like this: "They can only tell you 'no' so many times. Keep applying for that position."

The anger over mistreatment is more than a matter of what happens to the Black person as an individual. Rage over racism is also fueled by what happens to friends and family members. Collective memories of racism against all African Americans, as well as knowledge of specific racist actions against particular friends and relatives, multiply racialized stress for African American individuals.⁶¹

The seriousness of Black rage over discrimination was made clear by a retired professor interviewed in a recent nationwide study of African Americans. Speaking to a question about the level of his anger toward Whites because of discrimination (on a scale from one to ten), this man implicitly suggests the serious health consequences of rage:

Ten! I think that there are many Blacks whose anger is at that level. Mine has had time to grow over the years more and more and more until now I feel that my grasp on handling myself is tenuous. I think that now I would strike out to the point of killing, and not think anything about it. I really wouldn't care.⁶²

Anger and Rage: Attempts at Repression and Control

The daily struggle against racial attacks and slights can be seen clearly in many aspects of the focus group transcripts. The intensity of the pressures is clear when the respondents speak of the means they use to cope with anger over racial discrimination. Resignation and reinterpretation of events are among the coping tactics. One respondent in the Midwest told of an incident in which a young Black male came to her workplace to donate items to the service organization for which she works. Her White boss asked the young man why was donating, and the latter answered that he had grown up in the service organization, though in another location. The woman concludes the story:

And he [her boss] said, "Oh, I will have to call him. I know the person who directs the organization down there. I'll have to tell him that you didn't end up in jail." And the guy just, he's like, "I don't...know quite how to take [that]." But he [her boss] says this [stuff] all the time.

Although the woman recognizes her supervisor's comments to be stereotypical, she tries to understand his ignorance:

I think that he just doesn't know any better...I've come to grips with him, I've worked for him for many years...I let him know that I don't like his comments and that they're

⁶¹ Essed, *supra* note 5; Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5; James S. Jackson & Marita R. Inglehart, *Reverberation Theory: Stress and Racism in Hierarchically Structured Communities*, in *Extreme Stress and Communities: Impact and Intervention* 353, 373 (Stevan E. Hobfoll & Marten W. deVries, eds., 1995).

⁶² Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 294.

inappropriate, but there's nothing I can do about it. But I just think he doesn't know any better.

This woman's workplace situation exemplifies that of many African Americans, who often find ways to attribute the behavior of White coworkers to things other than overt racism -- in order to be able to work with them on a daily basis. Contrary to White notions of African American "paranoia," most frequently struggle to find explanations other than racism for the negative behavior of many Whites.⁶³

Some participants spoke of trying not to let their anger over racism take root deeply in their lives. One government employee discussed this approach to discrimination:

To never get upset. Not to let that rage consume you, and after, and it really takes a lot to be really thoughtful, and to get beyond that, and, and *try* to educate them [Whites]. I, that's what I've found works for me. And it helps me not to go home and to have that just simmer in me -- that I can just leave it.

Middle-class African Americans, who often have high levels of interaction with Whites as coworkers, find various ways to "leave" their anger, and may use a combination of coping strategies for discrimination.⁶⁴ Extant research suggests that, before choosing a coping strategy, African Americans often reflect on the source of a White person's discriminatory behavior.⁶⁵ Some discuss methods of mentally or physically withdrawing from a hostile situation, while others verbally or physically confront discriminatory Whites. Sometimes African Americans attribute racist behavior to ignorance and choose to educate Whites as a response to discrimination, which can give a sense of empowerment. Yet, others describe a "shield" they must put on in order to protect themselves in White society. Many discuss social networks, whether in the family, community, or church, as important buffers against the harmful psychological and physical effects of discrimination.⁶⁶

Many African Americans discuss the importance of "choosing one's battles" in regard to confronting racism. Most indicate they do not have the energy to confront each instance of discrimination.⁶⁷ However, holding in emotions can be problematical. The point has been made in the literature that a too-restrained response to one's anger over workplace problems can bring even more suffering because of the feelings of impotence, which in turn can contribute to stress-

⁶³See, e.g., D'Souza, *supra* note 41 (asserting the idea that middle-class African Americans suffer from "paranoia"); Essed, *supra* note 5; Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5 (discussing the other interpretations for discriminatory behavior that African Americans often consider first).

⁶⁴Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 272.

⁶⁵Joe R. Feagin & Karyn D. McKinney, *Motivational Attributions in African Americans' Choices of Coping Skills* (unpublished manuscript, forthcoming 1999).

⁶⁶Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 294.

⁶⁷See *id.* at 281.

related illness.⁶⁸ Researchers Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen have suggested that finding some socially viable way of openly expressing "anger at oppressors is better than self-derogation as a response to racial oppression."⁶⁹

One female professional links this sense of empowerment to position and resources:

I think that we're some empowered people sitting around the table, and so we can do that. I think that there's a lot of people that don't feel that they have the power to do that. There's a lot of African Americans who don't feel that they have the power. I've seen it in the kids...I've seen it in the workplaces. They don't -- and so that rage just builds up. I see it in Black men. They don't feel that they have the power...and older people. They really don't. And that's, I think the issue that, that really needs to be spoken to. We can do it because we've made up in our minds that we're going to educate them...But what about those people that really have not, you know, are not, are not feeling this strength and energy? What about those, those *kids* that I see every day? And particularly again, if they are Black males...You see, a lot of people, I think a lot of our people end up in jail or dead because they don't have the tools...that we're talking about, that we use to, to deal with it.

Teaching Whites becomes part of the strategy for dealing with anger over racism. Middle class African Americans, it is suggested, have more resources and strength to deal with racism in this and other ways than do other African Americans, particularly young people. The sense of lacking power to fight back or to bring change is likely to be central to the continuing reality of discrimination for many African Americans.

A postal supervisor in the Southeast noted his approach to handling anger from job discrimination:

You're always going to feel anger, I mean, obviously...[in the] simplest things sometimes. Because, just because, if you can look and tell, if it's a Black man and White man thing...So you're gonna feel anger, but the thing is, when you put that rage in there . . . number one, it's your job. You're gonna do certain things. But it's my health. And it's my life. So I'm not gonna put myself in a position where you're gonna get me to that point. I know when we were talking about psychological and physical things. I'm just not gonna let you put that -- I can wake up in the morning time, and I know, I don't even have to open my eyes, I know I'm a Black man. I don't have to tell me. You don't have to tell me. So when I sit there and, and take this -- and say, I'm sitting across a table from a, in a meeting, and there's a superior, and they happen to be White. In this case, of course, they may do something that's going to get me upset, but like I say, it's their job. Or if they pass me over, and, all I can look in is the variables...But I control how I feel about it. I can control whether or not it affects my health or not. So, that's why, when you say, as far as rage and anger, you know how to override it.

⁶⁸Karasek & Theorell, *supra* note 49.

⁶⁹Alexander Thomas & Samuel Sillen, 54 *Racism and Psychiatry* (1974).

This man believes he has developed strategies to control the anger he feels from racial tensions at work. It is impossible to know to what degree his strategies are successful, but he perceives his need to constantly monitor his anger for fear it will affect his health as coming from workplace discrimination. The constancy of being reminded of being Black is part of what racism means in U.S. society. One can never escape this, and in encounters with Whites in the workplace, one's racial identity is in the front of one's mind. Some anger over mistreatment is inevitable, and the overarching strategy is often to "choose one's battles" and assess each situation separately for the appropriate response.

In some cases, Whites may intentionally provoke Black workers to see if they will react strongly. After the postal service manager spoke, a female voice added: "This is a set up... You get into rage, they just say, 'See, that's why we didn't give it [a promotion] to her.'" The ability to hold in one's anger and to control feelings is central to survival in a work world where strong reactions to animosity can affect one's job opportunities and economic success. Many African Americans must exert much effort to check emotions so as not to play into White stereotypes of Black people being out of control. An engineer had also decided not to let rage have a negative affect on health: "So you see, these things like that, those things like that, those things make you upset...and the stress does make a difference, I think it probably takes five years off your life, to tell you the truth, if you let it get to you." An administrative secretary in the Midwest echoed this sentiment about how to deal with racially generated stress: "You learn how to deal with it...you sit up there, and you be mad all day long and that's not good for you and you end up dead. I'm not dying from them. Until God gets ready to take me home. It ain't worth it."

A victim of discrimination frequently shares the account with family and friends in order to lighten the burden. African Americans often rely on their families and community institutions (e.g., churches) as part of their coping mechanisms in dealing with recurrent discrimination at work and elsewhere.⁷⁰ In several focus groups, the participants repeatedly noted or underscored these critical sources of social support. One teacher commented on bringing the stress of racism home with her:

I think I bring it home with me, I do. But, I have a good partner here, who listens...and, you know, I tell him all the problems, when it's happened. And I get feedback from him. And I get it all out, and that, I think that's good.

Similarly, a male respondent in the Southeast said his wife was his major source of support in dealing with stress from racial animosity:

I'd say oftentimes I've brought it home. Because I don't share that stuff with my work group, but I can share it with my wife, and she'll listen and give me appropriate feedback, and help me get through that. And you know I get the bike out, and I'll ride, or take the kids and go somewhere, or take me a good, hot, steamy shower. And get a back rub, or

⁷⁰See, e.g., James S. Jackson, *Black American Life Course*, in *Life in Black America* 264-273 (James S. Jackson ed., 1991); Carol B. Stack, *All our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (1974); Sayde L. Logan, *The Black Family: Strengths, Self-Help, and Positive Change* (1996).

something. [Others chuckle]. And that kinda thing. Settle for that!

Numerous focus group participants indicated that they told their families and friends about discriminatory events in employment and other settings, which accounts spread both knowledge and pain through social networks and communities.

Several respondents mentioned how their families of origin raised them to recognize and deal with racial hostility and discrimination. A secretary stated that:

I think my family is very supportive...my father is more like "Maybe you should ignore it and turn the other cheek," where my mom is like, "Report it." You know, so I...get it from both sides...I think these are things that I should tell them, and these are also things that they should relate to me about their experience so that I can distinguish what is racism, what is prejudice, and how to deal with it...I think we have a lot of individuals today who don't even know [how to recognize racism]...somebody in that family should have brought that out to these individuals...this is important for families to sit around, and let them know. This is another way of communication to bring it out so they don't have to bring it into the workplace and be angry.

Another woman, a purchasing agent, agreed with this respondent, and added that her family "told us different stories that have happened to them, so we can distinguish between what is and what is not [racism]...they give you an example of subtle prejudice and racism..." Several parents in the focus groups noted the importance of preparing their children for racism and its torments and frustrations.

Note the cumulative impact of racial animosity and discrimination reported throughout our interviews. This accumulating impact likely accounts for much of the anger and rage expressed by the focus group participants. The problem is not just a particular racial incident but also the steady pattern of incidents over long periods of time and across many life spaces. Recurring discrimination may eventually erode the coping skills of many African Americans and cause them increased illness or problems in families.⁷¹ In one recent study a retired schoolteacher in a southwestern city recounted her experience with a racist epithet yelled by a clerk in a mall shop, then characterized the many recurring incidents of racism as the "little murders every day" that have made her long life so difficult.⁷² Particular instances of discrimination in workplaces or elsewhere may seem minor to some outside (especially White) observers, particularly if they are only considered in isolation. However, when blatant racist actions and overt mistreatment combine with discrimination in more subtle and covert forms, and when these discriminatory practices accumulate over weeks, months, and years, the effect on African Americans is more than what a simple summing of the impact of particular incidents might suggest. There is often a significant multiplier effect from recurring racial hostility on a person's work, health, and social relationships.⁷³

⁷¹See Elaine Pinderhughes, *Understanding Race, Ethnicity and Power: The Key to Efficacy in Clinical Practice* (1989).

⁷²Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 54.

⁷³Darielle Watts-Jones, *Toward a Stress Scale for African American Women*, 14 *Psychology of Women Quarterly*

Although their specific strategies for dealing with racism differ, there was a general consensus among all of the respondents that the anger generated by racism in the workplace must be dealt with by African Americans themselves, who can expect little, if any, support from White coworkers and supervisors. A nurse described the lack of concern for racism shown by White supervisors:

I think that most supervisors, managers, [the] higher echelon knows about racism in the workplace. And I think some of them leave it up to lower managers to do something about it even when they discuss it, and some of them just leave it, period. And then some have diversity groups...or seminars or things...but racism is so prevalent I just think that it's going to be hard to get rid of.

The costs of racial discrimination encompass the time and effort put into dealing with that discrimination. The responses of African Americans to racial stress vary, with some using aggressive countering tactics and others withdrawing from the situation. Sometimes the stress forces the costly response of withdrawal. One woman, working in corporate administrative services in the Midwest, noted her response to harassment:

The way I deal with it is I try to stay out of the office as much as I can...even outsiders who come in the office, they can sense the air is tight...and it's all because of our boss. And it's not just racial harassment, its sexual harassment.

Several female respondents described how racial marginalization at work was amplified by the sexist behavior of White male coworkers and supervisors.

Another woman, who now works as a college advisor, described racially related stress and why she quit her previous job in a department store:

When the Black customers would come into the store to possibly return merchandise, and maybe not have a receipt to accompany that purchase, they were asked..."Do you think you could go home and find it [the receipt]? Well, when was it purchased?" They were denied adequate assistance. But when the White people would come into the store, it was like, "Oh, well, can I credit it to your [store credit account] or Visa?" ...it was always, with the Black person, it's like, "Well, where did you buy it? Well, take it back to the store that you bought it from," although you can take any of that merchandise to any store, because that's policy...I was just amazed by the kind of things that would occur. And that's a reason why I no longer work there, because I could no longer work for a company that discriminated against my race...they did it blatantly and they really didn't care.

Whatever the source of stress at work, its consequences are serious. What is noteworthy about racial stress is that it generally comes on top of the other frustrations in the workplace. Note too that this woman's frustration and anger were generated by what was happening, not to herself,

but to other African Americans.

Depression and Other Psychological Problems

Long ago, in the 1960s the brilliant critic of racial colonialism, Frantz Fanon, argued forcefully that colonization causes the colonized serious psychological problems, because of the continual assaults it inflicts on their personalities.⁷⁴ Numerous studies have documented the harmful effects of workplace stress on the health of employees of any racial or ethnic group.⁷⁵ Although work is a primary source of stress for many individuals, some research shows that certain types of job stress are unique to the experiences of Americans of color, and may contribute to their facing unique physical and mental health challenges.⁷⁶ Certain social conditions, including racial inequality, blocked opportunities, and discrimination are major generators of pain and distress for individuals. Physical and mental health problems can stem from the stresses of discrimination.⁷⁷ Recent research has highlighted the need to take into account three dimensions in considerations of the role of stress in the lives of African Americans. The first is the individual-level interactions between race and health; the second, interpersonal relationships and health; and the third, societal factors, such as poverty and racism that contribute detrimentally to African American health.⁷⁸ Research has found that African Americans are caught in economic, social, and political conditions that are harmful to their health.⁷⁹ Mirowsky and Ross conclude that this pain and distress can take two psychological forms: (1) being depressed, being demoralized, and feeling hopeless; and (2) feeling anxiety, fear, and worry.⁸⁰ Karasek and Theorell have shown that variations in control and socio-emotional support at work predict variations in psychological depression.⁸¹

⁷⁴See Jock MacCulloch, *Black Soul, White Artifact: Fanon's Clinical Psychology and Social Theory* 126-127 (1983).

⁷⁵See, e.g., Gutierrez, et al., *supra* note 4, at 118.

⁷⁶See *id.*; See also Marsella, *supra* note 31.

⁷⁷See, generally, Vickie M. Mays, et al., *Perceived Race-Based Discrimination, Employment Status, and Job Stress in a National Sample of Black Women: Implications for Health Outcomes*, 1 *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 319, 329 (1996); Charles B. Wilkinson & Jeanne Spurlock, *Mental Health of Black Americans: Psychiatric Diagnosis and Treatment*, in *Ethnic Psychiatry* 13, 50 (Charles B. Wilkinson, 1986); Jewelle Taylor Gibbs & Diana Fuery, *Mental Health and Well-Being of Black Women: Toward Strategies of Empowerment*, 22 *American Journal of Community Psychology* 559, 582 (1994); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

⁷⁸See James S. Jackson & Sherrill L. Sellers, *African-American Health Over the Life Course: A Multidimensional Framework*, in *Handbook of Diversity Issues in Health Psychology* 301, 317 (Pamela M Kato & Traci Mann eds. 1996).

⁷⁹See James S. Jackson & Monica L. Wolford, *Changes from 1980 to 1987 in Mental Health Status and Help-Seeking Among African Americans*, 25 *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 15, 67 (1992).

⁸⁰John Mirowsky & Catherine E. Ross, 21 *Social Causes of Psychological Distress* (1989).

⁸¹Karasek & Theorell, *supra* note 49.

Demoralization, anxiety, and anger over everyday discrimination are to be expected under the circumstances faced by African Americans in U.S. society, but they are nonetheless unhealthy at the levels that many African Americans experience these feelings. A few recent research studies have touched on the relationship of discrimination to mental health problems. In addition to older studies of African Americans such as that of Grier and Cobbs, three recent studies of Mexican Americans found that experience with discrimination is linked to higher levels of stress and psychological suffering, including depression, and lower levels of life satisfaction.⁸² An analysis drawing on the National Study of Black Americans has suggested that recent experience with discrimination may be associated with poor mental health: "That is, persons who reported experiencing racial discrimination, report higher levels of chronic health problems, disability and psychological distress, and lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction."⁸³

Often a worker of color finds he or she is one of few, or even the only one, of their racial-ethnic background in their work environment. This status often does not allow them the social support that might alleviate workplace stress.⁸⁴ Additionally, this isolated status may draw an inordinate amount of attention to the minority group member's job performance, and may cause a stigmatizing "token" status to be ascribed.⁸⁵ Thus, African Americans in predominantly White work settings may feel pressure to prove that they were not hired only due to affirmative action, as may often be the assumption of their White colleagues. This pressure, coupled with experiences with perceptions of exclusion and other discrimination, may lead to stress for African American and other Americans of color.⁸⁶

Although some research has been done on the mental health of African Americans, its findings are contradictory.⁸⁷ Some studies point to the resilience and coping skills of African Americans and conclude that African Americans have much lower rates of mental illness than do

⁸²Grier & Cobbs, *supra* note 46; Hortensia Amaro, et al., *Family and Work Predictors of Psychological Well-Being Among Hispanic Women Professionals*, 11 *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 505-521 (1987); V. Nelly Salgado de Snyder, *Factors Associated with Acculturative Stress and Depressive Symptomology Among Married Mexican Immigrant Women*, 11 *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 475-488 (1987); Gutierrez, et al., *supra* note 4.

⁸³David R. Williams & An-Me Chung, *Racism and Health*, in *Health in Black America* *(R. Gibson & J. Jackson eds., 1995).

⁸⁴*See id.*

⁸⁵*See id.*

⁸⁶*See id.*; James, et al., *supra* note 54.

⁸⁷*See, e.g.*, Shae Graham Kosch, et al., *Patient Ethnicity and Diagnosis of Emotional Disorders in Women*, 30 *Family Medicine* 215, 219 (1998) (for a discussion of the contradictions in findings of mental illness in persons of various ethnicities); George W. Comstock & Knud J. Helsing, *Symptoms of Depression in Two Communities*, 6 *Psychological Medicine* 551, 563 (1976); Ronald C. Kessler & Harold W. Neighbors, *A New Perspective on the Relationships Among Race, Social Class, and Psychological Distress* 27 *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 107, 115 (1986)(found that there are racial differences in psychological problems, and that these interact with socioeconomic status); David R. Williams & Toni Rucker, *Socioeconomic Status and the Health of Racial Minority Populations*, in *Handbook of Diversity Issues in Health Psychology* 407, 423 (Pamela M. Kato & Traci Mann, eds., 1996).

Whites, and even perhaps rarely get depressed, while other studies find that African American rates of mental illness are higher than those of Whites.⁸⁸ Still other studies have found that rates of mental illness for people of various racial-ethnic backgrounds are moderated by demographic characteristics such as marital status and socioeconomic status.⁸⁹ These contradictory findings have led some to suggest that public health researchers abandon racial comparison research altogether.⁹⁰ Others have called for qualitative research, such as ethnographic research, and case studies, as well as longitudinal studies that cover more time, to supplement contradictory research findings.⁹¹ Still others have suggested that various societal stereotypes regarding African Americans have led to bias in mental health diagnoses, making any findings regarding the mental health of African Americans dubious.⁹² Certainly, contradictions in quantitative research regarding minority mental health suggest that researchers must consider that caregiver attitudes and perceptions of minority individuals might play a primary role in diagnosis and treatment of psychologically troubled African Americans.

Historically, the mental health treatment of African Americans has been conducted on a foundation of stereotypical ideas about African Americans.⁹³ In the mental health terminology of the 1800s, slaves who disobeyed their masters and runaway slaves were given specific diagnoses of mental illness (for example, “drapetomania” for runaway-ness).⁹⁴ During Reconstruction, mental health practitioners asserted that the supposed increase in mental illness of African Americans was due to the loss of the many civilizing “benefits” of slavery.⁹⁵ In the early 1900s,

⁸⁸See Griffith & Baker; *supra* note 45, at 159 (discussing research that negates the myth that African Americans do not get depressed).

⁸⁹See Deborah Belle, *Poverty and Women's Health*, 45 *American Psychologist* 385, 389 (1990); Maisha B. Bennett, *Afro-American Women, Poverty and Mental Health: A Social Essay*, 12 *Women and Health* 212, 228 (1987); Horacio Fabrega, et al., *Black-White Differences in Psychopathology in an Urban Psychiatric Population*, 29 *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 285, 297 (1988); Comstock & Helsing, *supra* note 86; Kessler & Neighbors, *supra* note 86.

⁹⁰See, e.g., Raj Bhopal & Liam Donaldson, *White, European, Western, Caucasian, or What? Inappropriate Labeling in Research on Race, Ethnicity, and Health*, 88 *American Journal of Public Health* 1303, 1307 (1998); Mindy T. Fullilove, *Comment: Abandoning “Race” as a Variable in Public Health Research--An Idea Whose Time has Come*, 88 *American Journal of Public Health* 1297, 1298 (1998).

⁹¹See Fullilove, *supra* note 89, at 1298; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; David R. Williams, et al., *Marital Status and Psychiatric Disorder Among Blacks and Whites*, 33 *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 140, 157 (1992).

⁹²See generally Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; Kosch, et al., *supra* note 86.

⁹³See Sandra L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* 131-149 (1985) (discussing historical stereotypes of pathological madness of African Americans and other people of color).

⁹⁴See Thomas S. Szasz, *The Sane Slave: An Historical Note on the Use of Medical Diagnosis as Justificatory Rhetoric*, in *The Production of Reality: Essays and Readings in Social Psychology* 426, 435 (Peter Kollock & Jodi O'Brien, eds., 1994); Donald H. Williams, *The Epidemiology of Mental Illness in Afro-Americans*, 37 *Hospital and Community Psychiatry* 42, 49 (1986); Wilkinson & Spurlock, *supra* note 76.

⁹⁵See A. Deutsch, *The First U.S. Census of the Insane (1840) and Its Use as Pro-Slavery Propaganda*; Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

African Americans were characterized as promiscuous, emotionally and criminally volatile, childlike, and unintelligent. Psychiatric research generally relied on these racist stereotypes in diagnosis, and researchers even congratulated themselves on the “fortunate guidance” of their profession, by which many African Americans are “saved” from physically and mentally ruining their lives.⁹⁶ Some mental health studies written from the late 1800s to the mid 1900s even stated that African Americans lacked the psychological complexity to become depressed, given their “inferior” psyches.⁹⁷ By the early 1960s, new research was beginning to turn to cultural, rather than biological, explanations for racial differences in mental health, and suggested that the more integrated African Americans became, the more they will share depression, which is “the White man’s malady.”⁹⁸

Some current research suggests that mental health professionals often misdiagnose African Americans. Diagnostic tests may be racially biased, elevating the observed rates of certain types of mental illness for African Americans.⁹⁹ Researchers have found that African American and White people presenting the same symptoms to doctors may be diagnosed with very different illnesses.¹⁰⁰ For example, with the same symptoms, Whites are often diagnosed with depression, which is treated with psychotherapy and has a better prognosis, while African Americans tend to be diagnosed as having schizophrenia, which is more serious and must be treated with medication.¹⁰¹ A recent study of one hundred White and one hundred African American women, matched by age, who had visited an outpatient family practice center in 1993-1994, explored the rate of primary or secondary diagnoses of emotional disorder for the two groups.¹⁰² The research findings showed that 44 percent of the White women, compared to 24 percent of the African American women, had either a primary or secondary diagnosis of psychiatric disorder.¹⁰³ The researchers suggest that the reason for this racial discrepancy is evidence that Black women actually have less psychiatric disorder, perhaps due to better family and community support networks; or they may be more reluctant to discuss personal problems with physicians; or White women may be receiving better care than Black women.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶W.M. Bevis, *Psychological Traits of the Southern Negro with Observations as to Some of His Psychoses*, 1 American Journal of Psychiatry 69, 78 (1921).

⁹⁷*See id.*

⁹⁸Arthur J. Prange, Jr., *Cultural Aspects of the Relatively Low Incidence of Depression in Southern Negroes*, 8 International Journal of Social Psychiatry 104, 112 (1962).

⁹⁹*See, e.g.,* Costello, *supra* note 45; Watts-Jones, *supra* note 72; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76.

¹⁰⁰*See* Gibbs & Fuery; *supra* note 76 (for a discussion of the various problems with mental health diagnosis of African Americans).

¹⁰¹*See* Nancy F. Russo & Esteban L. Olmedo, *Women’s Utilization of Outpatient Psychiatric Services: Some Emerging Priorities for Rehabilitation Psychologists*, 28 Rehabilitation Psychology 141, 155 (1983); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; Wilkinson & Spurlock, *supra* note 76.

¹⁰²Kosch, et al., *supra* note 86, at 216.

¹⁰³*Id.*

¹⁰⁴*Id.* at 218.

A White standard of normality is usually taught to and used by White therapists, however. Cultural norms for what constitutes “normal” or “abnormal” behavior may be different for African Americans than for Whites.¹⁰⁵ Specifically, African Americans may have different ways of expressing symptoms and complaints, different culturally normative behaviors, and different coping mechanisms than do Whites.¹⁰⁶ Recent research has suggested that as therapists become more aware of mental health issues unique to people of color, they may need to retrospectively diagnose African American patients to correct earlier misdiagnoses.¹⁰⁷

White therapists may harbor negative views of African American patients, based on societal myths.¹⁰⁸ They may communicate these feelings in their nonverbal behavior, causing African American patients to withhold the kind of self-disclosure that is necessary for psychotherapy.¹⁰⁹ Researchers have found that for African Americans, psychotherapy with a White caregiver usually leads to “unhealthful consequences.”¹¹⁰ Many call for better cross-cultural training for psychiatrists and psychotherapists.¹¹¹ *Lessons from the Community Health Movement, in Health Policies and Black Americans* 348, 380 (David P. Willis, ed., 1989); James

¹⁰⁵See George Devereux, *Basic Problems of Ethnopsychiatry* 3-71 (1980); Victor R. Adebimpe, *Overview: White Norms and Psychiatric Diagnosis of Black Patients*, 138 *American Journal of Psychiatry* 279, 285 (1981); Harold W. Neighbors, et al., *The Influence of Racial Factors on Psychiatric Diagnosis: A Review and Suggestions for Research*, 25 *Community Mental Health Journal* 301, 311 (1989); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹⁰⁶See Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; Fabrega, et al., *supra* note 88.

¹⁰⁷See Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹⁰⁸See Donald R. Atkinson, *A Meta-Review of Research on Cross-Cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy*, 13 *Journal of Multicultural Counseling & Development* 138, 153 (1985); Elaine J. Copeland, *Oppressed Conditions and the Mental-Health Needs of Low-Income Black Women: Barriers to Services, Strategies for Change*, 1 *Women & therapy* 13, 26 (1982); Wilkinson & Spurlock, *supra* note 76; Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76.

¹⁰⁹See Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Ridley, *supra* note 44; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76.

¹¹⁰See Stanley Sue, *Psychotherapeutic Services for Ethnic Minorities: Two Decades of Research Findings*, 43 *American Psychologist* 301, 308 (1988); Ridley, *supra* note 44.

¹¹¹See Manuel Ramirez III, *Psychotherapy and Counseling with Minorities: A Cognitive Approach to Individual and Cultural Differences* (1991); Jeanne Spurlock, *Black Americans*, *Cross-Cultural Psychology* 163, 178 (Albert Gaw, ed., 1982); Robert L. Bragg, *Discussion: Cultural Aspects of Mental Health Care for Black Americans*, in *Cross-Cultural Psychology* 179, 185 (Albert Gaw, ed., 1982); Richard I. Shader, *Discussion: Cultural Aspects of Mental Health Care for Black Americans: Cultural Aspects of Psychiatric Training*, in *Cross-Cultural Psychology* 187, 197 (Albert Gaw, ed., 1982); Enrico E. Jones, *Psychotherapy and Counseling with Black Clients*, in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Counseling and Therapy* 173, 180 (Paul Pedersen ed., 1985); Gerald G. Jackson, *Cross-Cultural Counseling with Afro-Americans*, in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Counseling and Therapy* 231, 237 (Paul Pedersen ed., 1985); Gerald G. Jackson, *Conceptualizing Afrocentric and Eurocentric Mental Health Training*, in *Cross-Cultural Training for Mental Health Professionals* 131, 149 (Harriet P. Lefley & Paul B. Pedersen eds., 1986); Evalina W. Bestman, *Intervention Techniques in the Black Community*, in *Cross-Cultural Training for Mental Health Professionals* 213, 224 (Harriet P. Lefley & Paul B. Pedersen eds., 1986); Lawrence E. Gary, *Attitudes of Black Adults Toward Community Mental Health Centers*, 38 *Hospital & Community Psychiatry* 1100, 1105 (1987); Jewelle Taylor Gibbs, *Can We Continue to be Color-Blind and Class-Bound?*, 13 *Counseling Psychologist* 426, 435 (1985); Harold W. Neighbors, *Improving the Mental Health of Black Americans*:

S. Jackson, *The Mental Health Service and Training Needs of African Americans*, in *Ethnic Minority Perspectives on Clinical Training and Services in Psychology* 33, 42 (Hector F. Myers, Paul Wohlford, L. Philip Guzman, Ruben J. Echemendia, eds., 1991); Atkinson, *supra* note 107; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; Ridley, *supra* note 44.

Because of racial bias in the mental health care profession, African Americans have generally relied on other forms of help for psychological difficulties. Research has been done on the differences in help-seeking behaviors of White and African Americans.¹¹² Early bias in mental health care led African Americans to care for their mentally ill family members at home.¹¹³ Today, African Americans in need of psychological support are often more likely to see help from family and extended family members than from mental health professionals.¹¹⁴ Findings also suggest that African Americans are likely to see both physical and mental health as dependent on a healthy spiritual life.¹¹⁵ Thus, they often rely on prayer, ministers, and church services for psychological help.¹¹⁶ Some have noted that African American church services are similar to group therapy in offering psychological relief.¹¹⁷ This might account for the fact that group therapy seems to be more useful than individual psychotherapy, at least for African American women.¹¹⁸

Whatever the actual differences in African American and White mental illness and treatment, one observation made by many researchers is that given the amount of societal stress

¹¹²See Vickie M. Mays, et al., *Mental Health Symptoms and Service Utilization Patterns of Help-Seeking Among African American Women*, in *Mental Health in Black America* 161, 176 (Harold W. Neighbors & James S. Jackson eds., 1996); Harold W. Neighbors, et al., *Help-Seeking Behavior and Unmet Need*, in *Anxiety Disorders in African Americans* 26, 39 (Steven Friedman ed., 1994); Harold W. Neighbors & James S. Jackson, *The Use of Informal and Formal Help: Four Patterns of Illness Behavior in the Black Community*, 12 *American Journal of Community Psychology* 629, 644 (1984); Ruth L. Greene, et al., *Mental Health and Help-Seeking Behavior*, in *Aging in Black America* 185, 200 (James S. Jackson, Linda M. Chatters & Robert Joseph Taylor eds., 1993); Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76; Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Wilkinson & Spurlock, *supra* note 76.

¹¹³See Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹¹⁴See Robert Joseph Taylor, et al., *Changes Over Time in Support Network Involvement Among Black Americans*, in *Family Life in Black America* 293-316 (Robert Joseph Taylor, James S. Jackson & Linda M. Chatters, eds., 1997); William W. Dressler, *Extended Family Relationships, Social Support, and Mental Health in a Southern Black Community*, 26 *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 39, 48 (1985); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹¹⁵See Karen L. Edwards, *Exploratory Study of Black Psychological Health*, 26 *Journal of Religion & Health* 73, 80 (1987); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹¹⁶See Harold W. Neighbors, et al., *Stress, Coping, and Black Mental Health: Preliminary Findings from a National Study*, 2 *Prevention in Human Services* 5, 29 (1983); Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76.

¹¹⁷Ezra E. Griffith, et al., *An Analysis of the Therapeutic Elements in a Black Church Service*, 35 *Hospital and Community Psychiatry* 464, 469 (1984).

¹¹⁸See Nancy Boyd-Franklin, *Group Therapy for Black Women: A Therapeutic Support Model*, 57 *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 394, 401 (1987); Vickie M. Mays, *Black Women and Stress: Utilization of Self-Help Groups for Stress Reduction*, 4 *Women & Therapy* 67, 79 (1985-86).

in the lives of African Americans, one would expect them to exhibit much higher rates of mental illness than they do.¹¹⁹ Some suggest that due to their life circumstances, African Americans may be more tolerant in coping with symptoms of stress.¹²⁰ Thus, researchers have been urged to explore the resilience and coping skills that African Americans utilize to protect their mental health from racist attacks.¹²¹ To this end, a few researchers have suggested using a stress/adaptation paradigm in mental health research, which emphasizes environmental as well as personality factors in seeking the cause for African Americans' emotional problems, and focuses on their unique coping skills.¹²² Some have also stressed the need for life-course research, which would offer a perspective on the strengths and structural barriers in mental and physical health care for African Americans at all stages of life.¹²³

Our focus group participants reported various psychological complaints they believed to be the result of workplace discrimination, ranging from extreme anxiety, and added stress to depression severe enough to require medication or hospitalization. An administrative assistant was hospitalized for depression after she was almost laid off:

I had been in the...my department for eleven years when I, we had a major change in staff. We had gone from a White male boss who had just left, and a White female who had taken over in the position. I had seniority in the office as far as time and had just received a promotion in the job, and had nothing but excellent, excellent performance evaluations. But when it came time to do the budget cuts, my position was offered as being ten percent cut. I was told that there was no way to avoid this position being cut. Being that at this time I was the only minority that was, that was in the office, it was devastating to me at the time because we tried to work it out. Now I'm working for an agency that advertises...strong affirmative action and equal employment opportunities. So, I had a right to file [a] discrimination [complaint].

She then described the resolution, which involved a Black commissioner interceding for her:

Because I was looking at a layoff...[He] basically went in and told this supervisor that, "With all these vacant positions that we have in this county, you will find her a job." I was told on a Friday by the department they wanted to transfer me to, that I had to make a

¹¹⁹See Williams, et al., *supra* note 90; Harold W. Neighbors, *Mental Health, in Life in Black America* 221, 237 (James S. Jackson ed., 1991).

¹²⁰See Linda K. Sussman, *Treatment-Seeking for Depression by Black and White Americans*, 24 *Social Science and Medicine* 187, 196 (1987).

¹²¹See Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Gibbs & Fuery, *supra* note 76.

¹²²Neighbors, *supra* note 118; Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45; Watts-Jones, *supra* note 72.

¹²³See Linda M. Chatters & James S. Jackson, *Quality of Life and Subjective Well-Being Among Black Americans, in Black Adult Development and Aging* 191, 213 (Reginald L. Jones ed., 1989); James S. Jackson & Sherrill L. Sellers, *Psychological, Social, and Cultural Perspectives on Minority Health in Adolescence: A Life-Course Framework, in Health-Promoting and Health Compromising Behaviors Among Minority Adolescents* 29, 49 (Dawn K. Wilson, James R. Rodrigue & Wendell C. Taylor eds. 1997).

decisions over the weekend and let them know by that following Monday whether I was going to accept this job, which was a six thousand dollar cut in pay...or go in the unemployment line. I had to help take care of two children, so I chose to go for the transfer. But...through all this, and, the mental anguish that I went through, I was hospitalized for nine days. It was just devastating, because I saw it as blatant discrimination...There was nothing they could go to in the file and find in terms of not performing or anything like that. And then the amount of time, get basically kicked out the door is what happened...But then, but not only the financial burden, but just the toll that it took...I think the toll was so hurtful because I saw it strictly as racial.

It appears that much racially linked mistreatment in work settings is disguised by the perpetrators in bureaucratic terms, as here in a budget cut. This woman's judgment of discrimination is not arbitrary but comes from past experience as the "only minority" in an almost exclusively White department. Her ability to read the situation may also be grounded in past experience in a variety of settings. In such cases, significant achievements are ignored and serious mental and physical pain can result.

A teacher in the Southeast described a situation in which her boss moved her to a different position just before school started. This woman discovered later that she was moved in order to make room for a new and less experienced White teacher that her boss hired. She described the stress she underwent because of having to change so quickly:

I was so upset I didn't know what to do. Just totally wiped out. I'm thinking about all of this stuff I've got to move. She promised that the janitors would help me move. Nobody helped me. People were almost in tears watching me move all of this stuff in a shopping cart...And, it took me, that means I had to organize my stuff, move it, and get ready for another grade level and be ready to teach...So I did my pre-planning; it almost killed me...Nobody came to help me, but everybody was giving me sympathy. I had to go to the doctor...and I had become hypertensive. But I felt myself, I could hardly work, I was so upset. And I had gotten prayer, and, was reading my scripture, and meditating...

When the moderator asked her if she had been hospitalized for hypertension, the woman answered:

No, he put me on an antidepressant...in addition to the medication I needed to take -- I'm glad you made me clarify that, helped me to clarify it, brother. I had to go on an antidepressant. I didn't take it very long, but that's how upset I was, had to see a physician. I was under his care for a while. But, I mean, they brought these three White women on...That's what irks me, when I hear about the White people attacking affirmative action, when it's worked in reverse, and it's still happening -- to them. They're, nobody hears about how they get hired, and they're less qualified than we are. Nobody hears about how many times we're hired with extra qualifications, more than qualified, to do the same job that they're hired to do.

Thinking along similar lines, an engineer spoke of a Black coworker's experience of depression. His view, shared by other respondents, is that African Americans are reluctant to seek assistance

with psychological pain:

But it's kind of more, against Black culture to go for any type of psychological...testing, or, I had one friend who actually went to a depressive state...because he was the type of person who just tried to do the best he could at everything. And sometimes you just can't do that, or do everything. So, in this particular case, he went to the point where his body just collapsed, mentally. Where some people's bodies can collapse physically, his collapsed mentally. I personally didn't experience that, but I saw the pain that he went through. And likewise, he's having racial type things at his job, where his counterparts would get promoted at a certain level, where he would stay on a level below, after years. And he was as qualified -- sometimes they get you in a position to think that you're not as qualified as the next person, where in reality you may be more qualified than the person that got promoted over you. But a promotion doesn't necessarily mean that this person does higher quality work. It means, sometimes that person knows how to network with the boss better than you do.

Again, the suffering of one Black person is communicated to and felt by others in a social network. Research shows that most African Americans rely on informal social networks for emotional support, thus the concerns of one individual are often known in detail by a larger support network.¹²⁴ After this comment, a woman in this man's group added that Black employees have less time to network with the boss because they are working extra to prove themselves as capable. The engineer agreed with her statement, then continued:

And if you're working, you can't network with the boss, and drink coffee with him, and tell him what kind of work and stuff that you're doing. Because you're actually out there in the trenches going to work. So it was not my personal case, but his particular case, he might have gone to a stage where he had such depression he had to actually take medication.

This idea about Black qualifications is a theme that one finds in other accounts by African Americans of discrimination in the workplace, yet it receives little public or media attention.¹²⁵ From the Black middle class perspective, it is often the less qualified Whites who get special privileges over better-qualified people of color. This recurring White advantage can create much psychological pain, including depression, for its Black victims. Also important here is the networking theme suggested in previous comments. In the U.S. economy, many racial barriers are linked, directly or indirectly, to White "good-ole-boy" networks, which are commonly at the core of workplaces and even of large business sectors.¹²⁶ In these networks, Whites commonly exclude racial outsiders from critical information flows.

¹²⁴See Robert Joseph Taylor, et al., *Changes Over Time in Support Network Involvement Among Black Americans*, in *Family Life in Black America* 293-316 (Robert Joseph Taylor, James S. Jackson & Linda M. Chatters, eds., 1997); Dressler, *supra* note 113; Griffith & Baker, *supra* note 45.

¹²⁵Essed, *supra* note 5; Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5.

¹²⁶Carmenza Gallo, *The Construction Industry in New York City: Immigrant and Black Entrepreneurs* (1983)(unpublished working manuscript, Conservation of Human Resources Project, New York: Columbia University).

Energy Loss From Discrimination

Another major cost of being mistreated in a hostile workplace is a serious loss of personal energy, including the loss of motivation to do work and other activities. In one national research study an experienced Black psychologist commented eloquently about the energy loss suffered by African Americans:

If you can think of the mind as having one hundred ergs of energy, and the average man uses fifty percent of his energy dealing with the everyday problems of the world...then he has fifty percent more to do creative kinds of things that he wants to do. Now that's a White person. Now a Black person also has one hundred ergs; he uses fifty percent the same way a White man does, dealing with what the White man has [to deal with], so he has fifty percent left. But he uses twenty-five percent fighting being Black, [with] all the problems being Black and what it means.¹²⁷

The individual cost of dealing with discrimination is great, and one cannot accomplish as much when personal energy is wasted on discrimination. One of the most severe costs of persisting discrimination, this energy loss is often more than an individual matter. An engineer made this clear in a group that was discussing the "eight whole hours of discrimination" they daily experience:

One of the things, though, that really has had an effect on my family personally was, me having [less] time to really spend with my son. As far as reading him stories, talking, working with him, with his writing, and, all of that. And those things really, really hurt us, and it hurt my child, I think, in the long run, because he never had that really...I know when, when the program was really, really running, some, some days I would come home and I would have such excruciating headaches and chest pains that I would just lay on the bed and put a cold compress on my head and just relax. Thank God, I got him through that period...And by the time I come home, I'm so stressed out. And he runs up to me, and you know I give him a hug, but when you're so stressed out, you need just a little period of time, maybe an hour or so, just to unwind, just to relax, you know? ... to just watch the news or something, to kinda unwind and everything. So it definitely affects...and you know you're almost energy-less...And then by the time you get home, you have your family. So, by the time you kinda unwind a little bit to get ready to go to upstairs, you haven't handled responsibilities...

The pain of workplace mistreatment can have a domino effect, with chest pains and headaches being linked to a loss of energy, and that in turn resulting in far less energy to deal with important family matters. The drain on personal strength caused by discrimination takes a toll on the activities of workers in their lives outside the workplace.

In one discussion group a government employee examined the personal energy exertion issue in another of its troubling aspects:

¹²⁷Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 295-296.

One thing, too, is especially if you spend time documenting situations, that takes time: What was said, what did he say, what did I say, and what did I do? It's not keeping, that's time, too, I mean you're doing that because you never know what's gonna jump out. [Moderator: Why do you feel it necessary to do that?] History. I mean, there were just certain things that, that teaches you that you need to have some information because that's really the only thing they [Whites] understand...Documents. When you start pulling out "This is mine, this is what was said, here, here, here," they understand that. [But if] You start talking off the top of your head...you have no credibility, you know what I'm saying? With us, it always comes down to being above them. This is just like when we were talking about qualifications, you know, they can come in with less qualifications, but we always have to be maxed out...And sometimes go beyond that.

A psychologist in the group once again put this into a long term perspective: "That would seem like, that's always been a factor, always has been a history of us having to prove ourselves, over and over again, with documentation, this and that, and I would like to see, get to the point where *my* kids don't have to do that." The energy drain extends beyond the extra effort necessary to prove oneself to Whites with prejudiced minds, for it often entails keeping documentation in order to prove one's accomplishments and to counter discrimination in employment. We see again the importance of recording history and of creating a family and community memory, as these respondents constantly orient themselves to what Black Americans have had to do collectively in the past and in the present.

To be good at what one does a Black worker usually must learn many things about coping with Whites, energy wasting learning that is not requisite task for similarly situated White Americans. In another context a female planner explained that "Just like we have to, we have to consistently, we have to keep learning things, you know, they need to do the same, they need to jump through the same hoops we have to jump through." In addition, the education of Whites seems to be an imposed responsibility of many Black victims of discrimination. A sheriff's deputy responded to the previous speaker's statement with this summary:

And that's the same thing...we were talking about on the energy. Burning so much energy trying to educate these people, that we qualify, you know? And I always said if you see a Black doctor and a White doctor standing side by side, equal in status, that Black man is *twice* as better, because he had to work harder...In every profession.

This is a point one often hears in interviews with African Americans.¹²⁸ The great achievements of many African Americans have come in spite of, and on top of, the energy-sapping barriers of discrimination.

Physical Consequences of Discrimination

As seen by all our respondents, blocked opportunities and discrimination not only generate psychological pain and suffering but also link to many different bodily conditions such

¹²⁸Essed, *supra* note 5; Benjamin, *supra* note 5; Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5.

as chest pains, stomach problems, headaches, and insomnia.¹²⁹ Other research supports this observation.¹³⁰ The economic status of African Americans has stagnated and even declined in regards to some indicators in recent years, and this decline in economic well-being is associated with worsening health status for African Americans.¹³¹ Some research has shown that the realization that negative treatment in the workplace is based on one's race or ethnicity causes more extreme stress than usual workplace problems that are not based on racial discrimination.¹³² Other research has found that not only are physical health problems associated with workplace discrimination, the fewer members of one's own racial group that are available in the workplace as support, the more health problems are experienced by persons of under-represented groups.¹³³

The overall life expectancy of African Americans is lower than that of Whites, and this gap increased between 1980 and 1991.¹³⁴ African American infant mortality is twice the rate of that of Whites.¹³⁵ For African Americans under seventy years of age, cardiovascular disease, cancers, and problems resulting in infant mortality can account for fifty percent of excess deaths of males and sixty-three percent of female excess deaths.¹³⁶ Despite popular conceptions, only nineteen percent of excess male deaths and six percent of female excess deaths can be accounted for by homicide. Additionally, excess deaths related to genetic problems make up a tiny percentage. For example, excess deaths from sickle cell anemia make up only three-tenths of one percent of all African American excess death.¹³⁷ African Americans are disproportionately represented among people with coronary heart disease, myocardial infarction, strokes, and renal disease, and are more likely to have risk factors such as hypertension, high cholesterol, smoking, and diabetes.¹³⁸ African Americans, regardless of socio-economic status, also have the highest age-adjusted rates of cancer incidence and mortality of any racial group in the U.S.¹³⁹ Not only do African Americans have higher rates of several illnesses, they also have poorer outcomes and survival rates for most, evidence that the health care they receive may not be adequate. For

¹²⁹See Mirowsky and Ross, *supra* note 49, at 21.

¹³⁰See Keith James, *Social Identity, Work Stress and Minority Workers' Health*, in *Job Stress in a Changing Workforce* 127-145 (Gwendolyn P. Keita and Joseph J. Hurrell eds., 1994).

¹³¹See David R. Williams, *U.S. Socioeconomic and Racial Differences in Health: Patterns and Explanations*, 21 *Annual Review of Sociology* 349, 387 (1995).

¹³²See James, *supra* note 129 (for a summary of this research).

¹³³See *id.*

¹³⁴See Williams, *supra* note 130.

¹³⁵See *id.*

¹³⁶See *id.*

¹³⁷See *id.*

¹³⁸See Linda Chatters, *Physical Health*, in *Life in Black America* 199-220 (James S. Jackson ed., 1991).

¹³⁹See Frank Michel, *Racism Can be Cancer on the Health System*, *Houston Chronicle*, September 21, 1998, editorial page; Chatters, *supra* note 137.

example, the cancer survival rate for African Americans is twelve percent lower than that of Whites.¹⁴⁰ In addition to the discrimination that increases the health problems of African Americans, racism in the health care system may cause African Americans to receive less adequate care than do Whites.¹⁴¹

African Americans tend to report more health complaints than do persons of other racial or ethnic groups. In a national study of two thousand African Americans, when asked if they have had any health complaints in the last month, only thirty-five percent of African Americans said that they have no health problems at all. The most common health complaints reported were high blood pressure (31.6%), arthritis (24%), and “nervous conditions” (21.9%).¹⁴² Twenty percent (n=422) of the African Americans studied had never gone to a see a doctor in an independent office setting, and twenty-one percent were uninsured.¹⁴³ However, as in the case of psychological complaints, most (68%) of the respondents said that they have three or more people from whom they can seek informal health care.¹⁴⁴

As in the case of psychological health disparities, racial disparities in physical health can also not be totally accounted for by racial differences in socioeconomic status. In fact, some studies have found higher mortality rates for African Americans with higher socioeconomic status.¹⁴⁵ Neither can oft-repeated notions of “genetics” account for racial disparities in health. In her research Dr. Camara Jones, a Harvard epidemiologist, has found that African Americans have the *most* genetic diversity of any racially defined group. Nor are African Americans as a group in weaker health than are Whites. In fact, African American transplant patients run the highest risk of complications because their immune systems are so strong that their bodies are more likely to reject donated organs.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, excess hypertension cannot be attributed to genetics. Black blood pressure levels are similar to Whites until adulthood, at which time they increase faster with age than those of Whites. This suggests strongly that the racial differential is not a matter of genetics or lifestyle; it suggests that being a victim of racism has a detrimental effect on blood pressure. In a study of African American and White nurses, Jones found that the majority of African American nurses think about race at least daily, and many of them are constantly aware of their racial classification. This constant awareness contributes to undue stress.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰See Michel, *supra* note 138; Chatters, *supra* note 137.

¹⁴¹See Michel, *supra* note 138.

¹⁴²See Chatters, *supra* note 137.

¹⁴³See *id.*

¹⁴⁴See *id.*

¹⁴⁵See *id.*

¹⁴⁶Radio Broadcast, NPR Weekend Saturday, October 31, 1998, Transcript # 98103106-214, Frank Browning, moderator.

¹⁴⁷See *id.*

Others have highlighted the need to take into account not only African Americans' personal context, but also the larger historical context in looking at racial disparities in health. For example, the civil rights movement seems to have had a positive effect on African American health.¹⁴⁸ Other research has found that African American physical and mental well-being is highest when the discrimination reported by African Americans is lowest.¹⁴⁹ Research suggests that racism can affect African American health in three major ways. First, racism can transform socioeconomic status such that its effects are not equal across race. For example, African Americans cannot expect the same returns on their education investment, in terms of wages, as those of Whites. Second, racism may restrict access of African Americans to health services and to recreational facilities that would benefit their health. Finally, racism causes psychological distress that may create severe health problems for African Americans.¹⁵⁰

Our respondents noted the impact of racism on their health. One focus group participant, a dental assistant, made the connection between the stress of discrimination and physical ailments eloquently:

I don't think a lot of [people] realize that, when you're talking about ailments, you're talking about more colds, higher blood pressure, things like that, people don't relate that to your job. Like when you come down with more colds, a lot of times, it's [racial] stress on your job...[I was] in another job, and it seemed like the more stress I was under, it would make me feel worse. I would be sick, I would have more colds, I would want to sleep more, and basically, it was related to my job, the pressure on my job. But I didn't put it that way, you know, a lot of times I would think if I was under stress, I wouldn't relate it to a cold.

Similarly, a nurse in a southeastern state noted that the bottling up of stress from discrimination leads to a variety of health problems, as well as to excessive smoking and drinking:

But you stuff that stuff inside, and it comes out in these kinds of ways. And we can sit down and talk to each other, and that pain...they said that it can cause fibroids in women, that's why Black women have a lot of fibroids. Because all of that pain gets stuffed inside...That's why Black men...die so early. You know, if you take out the factors of drinking, and smoking, and why is it that Black men die from heart disease or from -- it's that stuffing inside of those subtle things that we, that we just, that we can't say anything...

From this perspective, discrimination has many consequences, ranging from fibroids to heart disease. To ease the pain stemming from their racial harassment, many African Americans smoke and use alcohol excessively. Benjamin suggests that racial barriers are likely to be

¹⁴⁸See Chatters, *supra* note 137.

¹⁴⁹See *id.*

¹⁵⁰See *id.* (for a complete discussion of these three points).

associated with stress patterns, alcohol abuse, and other health problems.¹⁵¹ And Gibbs contends that anger created in Black men by racial discrimination is likely to manifest itself in chronic fatigue, depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic complaints such as headaches.¹⁵²

Headaches A number of male and female respondents spoke of severe headaches that they attribute to workplace stress, such as this nurse in the Midwest: " I mean...the headaches...I would have this headache and it would be for eight hours until I walked out the door and then it was like...a weight was lifted off." A social services coordinator described headaches and other consequences in a discussion of discriminatory work conditions:

I was having severe headaches, and chest pains...It would be times when I would almost be in the office hyperventilating. And...it was just a lot of physical things happening to me. I would pull hair more, because, just the stress, you know? You just, you're trying to do so much, and collect your thoughts and do what needs to be done. And my hair had fallen out in the back of, the back of my hair, it just had fallen out!...And the headaches were just, just terrible, just unbearable. And it's also a psychological kind of ill, in that, well you know if [White] people are constantly watching you...But it, it's just amazing the psychological ill that it does to you. And even though you know you're competent? People can do that so much to you...they can get in meetings and try to show you up and make you look like you just don't know anything. And it is so many of them, you are outnumbered! Sometimes, you come out, and lash out, and you almost validate what they're trying to say about you, because you feel outnumbered!...So, you, you begin to doubt yourself, you begin to psychologically feel somewhat incompetent...So, it, it can take a toll on you, and I think it takes more of a psychological toll on us than we even care to admit.

Headaches are only one part of an often complex set of consequences that come from coping with hostile or unsupportive Whites in a workplace with few Black Americans. Chest pains, hyperventilating, and serious psychological doubts also accompany headaches that stem from Whites questioning one's competence and abilities.

High Blood Pressure Recent research reports have indicated that high blood pressure is a serious problem among Black Americans.¹⁵³ A few studies have shown that stressful life events, such as racial inequalities, are linked to high blood pressure.¹⁵⁴ Research has established that for African Americans, socioeconomic status has been shown to be associated with blood pressure and hypertension; as socioeconomic status decreases, blood pressure increases. A recent research study of 1,784 African Americans found that this relationship might be in part due to

¹⁵¹Benjamin, *supra* note 5.

¹⁵²Jewelle Taylor Gibbs, *Anger in Young Black Males: Victims or Victimiziers?*, in *The American Black Male*, 136, 127-143 (Richard G. Majors & Jacob U. Gordon eds., 1994).

¹⁵³Alphonso Pinkney, *Black Americans* (1993).

¹⁵⁴James 1994; James, et al., *supra* note 54; Norman B. Anderson, *Racial Differences in Stress-Induced Cardiovascular Reactivity and Hypertension*, 105 *Psychological Bulletin* 89-105 (1989).

poorer nutrition of those with lower socioeconomic status.¹⁵⁵ Yet, racism also has its effect. Research by Krieger and Sidney examined stress and blood pressure for nearly two thousand African Americans¹⁵⁶. Those who gave accounts of facing discrimination on three or more of seven situational questions tended to have higher blood pressure than those who reported facing discrimination on one or two questions. In a previous study, Krieger found that Black Americans who usually keep quiet about or accept unfair treatment are more likely to report hypertension problems than those who talk to others and take action against unfair treatment.¹⁵⁷ Another study, which controlled for age and weight, found that higher levels of discrimination were positively related to higher blood pressure for African Americans.¹⁵⁸ Still other studies have found that for hypertension, as well as certain forms of cancer, socio-economic status alone did not account for differences in illness rates between Whites and African Americans.¹⁵⁹

Recent research has associated a cultural pattern known as “John Henryism” with higher blood pressure found in many African Americans. John Henryism refers to the attempts made by African Americans to control their environment through hard work.¹⁶⁰ These attempts amount to long-term, intensive contending with the psychosocial stressors associated with dealing with racism. Sherman James and his colleagues have found that African Americans with higher John Henryism are more likely to have high blood pressure.¹⁶¹ Several focus group participants gave details on how hypertension is linked to racial stress, including that encountered at work. One nurse in the Midwest commented on her reactions as she enters the driveway of the place where she is employed:

That's when I got high blood pressure. And my doctor me...I told him what my reaction, my body's reaction would be when I would go to this place of employment...which was a nursing home. When I turned into the driveway, I got a major headache. I had this headache eight hours until I walked out that door leaving there...I went to the doctor because the headaches had been so continuously. And he said, "[Her name], you need to find a job because you do not like where you work." And within myself, I knew that was true. But also within myself, I knew I had to have a job because I had children to take care of. But going through what I was going through wasn't really worth it because I was

¹⁵⁵ Ann M. Gerber, et al., *Socioeconomic Status and Electrolyte Intake in Black Adults: The Pitt County Study*, 81 *The American Journal of Public Health* 1608-1613 (1991).

¹⁵⁶ Nancy Krieger & Stephen Sidney, *Racial Discrimination and Blood Pressure: The CARDIA Study of Young Black and White Adults*, 86 *American Journal of Public Health* 1370-1378 (1996).

¹⁵⁷ Nancy Krieger, *Racial and Gender Discrimination: Risk Factors for High Blood Pressure?*, 30 *Social Science and Medicine* 1273-1281 (1990).

¹⁵⁸ See James, *supra* note 129.

¹⁵⁹ See G.D. Smith, et al., *Mortality Differences Between Black and White Men in the USA: Contribution of Income and Other Risk Factors Among Men Screened for the MRFIT*, 351 *Lancet* 934-939 (1998).

¹⁶⁰ James, et al., *supra* 54.

¹⁶¹ See *id.*

breaking my own self down...it was constant intimidation. Constant racism, but in a subtle way. You know, but enough whereas you were never comfortable...And then I finally ended up on high blood pressure pills because for the longest, I tried to keep low. I tried not to make waves. It didn't work. I hurt me.

Again, the workplace is filled with the headaches and other pains of "constant racism."

In one focus group, a secretary working in the South believed that being repeatedly passed over for promotions caused her hypertension:

And to me, it hurt me deeply...So I had, you know, I had stood in prayer lines for prayer, to help me ease my mind and everything. To help me say the right thing, or go to the right, appropriate department, to get, you know, get it started. And it was just hard, because I was real hurt, and sometimes I would just down and cry about it...So, well, to make the story short, I had applied for a promotion, and I had applied for this promotion twice...I was tired, I was getting stressed out, and everything, and plus this -- so I was in a lot of pain, so I think I built up my blood pressure, really.

Later, this woman did have to have a doctor's care for her high blood pressure:

I had to see several doctors, because of the discrimination, and I went through a lot of stress. And then, my blood pressure, I had never had high blood pressure, and all of the sudden, it just went on the rise, and I couldn't control it. And...she [her supervisor] wanted me to perform the duties, you know, totally by myself, which it took like three, two or three people to do.

This account underscores the levels of pain and the loss of energy involved in contending with mistreatment seen as racially motivated. Using religion for solace, as well as speaking out, are strategies for the daily struggle. Although this woman noted in the interview that she finally received the help needed at work, the damage to her health had been done.

As we have noted previously, in the focus groups the suffering of other African Americans was sometimes cited as a cause of personal stress for the commentator. In one focus group, an engineer explained how he empathized with a fellow employee who developed hypertension:

I have a prime example of this, this has actually happened in our job. A particular [Black] person in our, in the branch...was being discriminated against. The supervisor knew of it, and -- what was happening, all our branch chiefs, they knew of it. And knew that the [White] supervisor was discriminating against this young lady. And, matter of fact, it drove this young lady to where now she's on high blood pressure medicine, and it really affected her. She wasn't getting promoted and all that. And the branch chief knew what was going on...But the thing is, is that this person went through all that, and now the person is on high blood [pressure medicine] ---it affected her mentally and physically.

Being hired is only the first hurdle for Black employees, for recurring promotion problems are

reported by African American employees in a variety of businesses.¹⁶² Not surprisingly, they create great stress. In late 1996 some unexpected evidence of this problem surfaced on an audiotape made of top Texaco executives discussing a lawsuit brought by Black employees, some of whom asserted they had been passed over for promotion because they were Black. In the taped meeting, the White executives did not take the reports of the Black employees about the pain and frustrations of a "hostile racial environment" seriously.¹⁶³

Stomach Problems and Emotional Distress According to several of the focus group participants, stress in the workplace creates or contributes significantly to stomach and other intestinal problems. A telephone technician explained the intertwined nature of psychological and physical problems resulting from overt racial animosity:

Well, psychologically, the psychological part and the physical part kind of go hand and hand...And I have never been a sickly type person, and I had never had any problems with my stomach, but I actually did have to go to the doctor, and the doctor said I was having -- they ran a test and he diagnosed it as gastrointestinal problems. And. . . . depending on the amount of stress work would be in, I would actually have serious attacks, where I would really get, really feverish, high fever, and I would just get real, real sick. And they prescribed Tagamet...for me to take, but after taking that a couple of times, it made me really sick, and so, when I would have these gastrointestinal, these attacks, I would just kind of really have to go through it. And a lot of times my job would just be so stressful, because I work for people that...they were overt...not covert...they'd just flat out let you know that they just didn't like Black folks...I worked with those kind of people. And even though I kind of enjoyed my work, I didn't enjoy those people, because they could make the situation really hard for me...And they would actually try to find...something wrong with [your work]...and that would just bug me, because, you know, I know that I meticulously try to do it, but even in that they could come right behind me and try to pinpoint little, little small things, and find something wrong with it.

Then she added how she copes in advance:

It was very, very stressful, because every day you're constantly mentally trying to prepare yourself when you get out of the car in the morning and you go in, go into work, you're trying to prepare yourself, "Well what do I have to face today?"

One factor in the personal cost of discrimination is that which comes from having to be constantly prepared. One strategy used by African Americans to counter mistreatment from Whites is to put on a defensive "shield," the term used in a conversation with a retired teacher recorded by Feagin and Sikes.¹⁶⁴ In that account an older Black woman contrasted her life with

¹⁶²Essed, *supra* note 5; Ellis Cose, *The Rage of a Privileged Class* (1993).

¹⁶³Kurt Eichenwald, *Texaco Executives, On Tape, Discussed Impeding a Bias Suit*, N.Y. Times, November 4, 1996, at A1.

¹⁶⁴Feagin & Sikes, *supra* note 5, at 295.

that of a White woman, who like her bathes and dresses before leaving the house. Unlike the White woman, however, she must put on her "shield" just before she leaves. She noted that for six decades, she has had to prepare herself in advance for the often-unpredictable racist actions in the White worlds she often traverses.

Another woman, a supervisor in the Southeast, reported stomach problems that she believed stemmed from actions of a fellow White employee:

But I was just so frustrated because she was...prejudiced, and she let it be known. And even though I confronted her on it, and any time she would say something to me, and I would tell her, I said "Look, if you can't deal with me on a professional level, then don't deal with me at all." And she was the type that, she would just do little things. And that just would annoy me...and I never knew it then, and then I was reading a book one day, and it said don't let things bother you, because, you know, physical breakdown...I can't really say it's an ulcer, but I had stomach problems. I'm gonna tell you what, what I did come to find out about her, though, was that sometimes when people are like that...she was raised in [names a southern state], this is backwoods. So, she was brought up that Black people -- you know to treat us like that. And I told her, I said, "Well, you can't treat -- everybody's not the same, what if I treat all White people bad? You know, call you all kind of names and everything like that? That's not fair!" I said, "Because I could miss out on a good friend, or a good person." And it took some convincing, but what I did, I didn't step to her level. Because she would [say] little things -- I would never get upset with her, but I always remained myself, because I didn't want her to think that she was getting next to me, because once they figure that out, then they really start to pour it on...But see, sometimes people do you like that, it was a girl at work...she called me and another girl...a "nigger" one day. And the other girl got mad, was very, was ready to fight.

Physical ailments are only one aspect of such complex situations. Again, one sees the energy lost in making and implementing one's decision about interpersonal confrontations over racial matters. This Black woman shows much understanding and even forgiveness for a White employee. In her later account, not quoted here, she relates how the woman became sick and how the respondent was the one who accompanied the woman to the hospital and stayed with her. At the end, the White woman eventually told the respondent "all Black people aren't bad." This Black woman was able to treat the prejudiced White woman with compassion despite how the White woman had treated her.

Family and Community Costs of Discrimination

Family Costs As some of the respondents have already noted, the damage of a racially hostile or unsupportive employment situation does not end at the door. An individual's experience with racial animosity and mistreatment not only is personally painful at the moment it happens but also can have a cumulative and negative impact on other individuals, on one's family, and on one's community.

Bringing frustrations home can have negative affects on families and relationships, such

as the lack of energy that a father quoted previously has for doing things with his young son. The harmful effects of bringing discrimination home to one's family was clearly elucidated by one concerned mother, who is a social services administrator:

So many times, after you've experienced an eight whole hours of discrimination, either directly or indirectly, it really doesn't put you in the mood to go home and read that wonderful bedtime story. You're just tired, and you just want to get somewhere, and really, you're crying on the inside, and you may not really want to admit [it] to yourself. Because all us like to think we're in control of what's happening to us. And I think we all deal with it differently. And that anger sometimes builds up, and you're not even aware that it's there, so the moment your spouse, or your child, if there is anything that may seem like it was a belittling or demeaning, you're responding to them with a level of anger, even, that really is inappropriate for the situation. But what you're really responding to is that eight hours prior to getting home.

She then reiterated how often she had to deal with substantial amounts of stored-up anger and added this final comment:

And I know several times...well, a couple of times I totally forgot to pick my child up from school! Because I was so engrossed with trying to make sure that I do this, because if I don't do this, I'm gonna duh-dah, duh-dah, duh-dah...my daughter had gotten to the point during that year when I was under all that stress, till she would tell me four and five times, she would remind me "Mom, I'm having this at school." And then she would get to school, and she would call me -- one day she called me to remind me about something, I was supposed to pick her up, or something, and I just sat at my desk, and I just boo-hooed, I said, "My baby doesn't have any confidence in me anymore...I'm really not there." ...And that, really, that was really the beginning of me saying "Look, nobody's gonna do anything to get this on track for you, you got to get this on track for yourself." And then, sometimes you go home and you've held your peace so long, till the first hour that you walk in the door, you're still dealing with everything. You may even be dealing with it verbally...And then, they have their own issues to deal with that day. And like, they just want to have dinner and relax, you know? So your family, inevitably I'd say, suffers. We bring all of that baggage home, and then we wonder why our relationships are in trouble.

Whether a person recognizes the harmful affects of bringing home anger from work to the extent this woman does, her or his struggles with discrimination can lead to a variety of suffering for others, as in this case for a child who is forgotten at school or for a spouse who wants to relax. Sharing problems with animosity and discrimination can create a domino effect of anguish and anger rippling across an extended group. Another result of using families as a resource to deal with the stress of racism can be troubled relationships. It has often been noted that Black women are more likely than White women to become separated or divorced and less likely to remarry.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the direct, negative impact of everyday racism on the difficulties faced by Black

¹⁶⁵ Arthur J. Norton & Louisa F. Miller, 3-5 Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage in the 1990's (U.S. Department of Commerce 1992).

families has not been featured in the mainstream literature on "broken" and "disorganized" Black families.¹⁶⁶

The Community Impact The impact of marginalization at work can carry over into community activities. Black workers' lack of energy affects motivation to socialize outside the home and participate in community activities. The social services worker who discussed her family above reported that she had withdrawn from activities in her community because of the drain on her energy caused by racial animosity at work. A teacher described having to give up participation in community groups because of lack of energy:

At one point, we had started a minority action committee, which is still in existence, with the school district. And it's interesting because it's very hard to get people after they've fought all day, in a sense, that have enough energy to come out and support an effort like that where it is needed. We know the racism is out there, we know we need to fight for our kids -- that was the main thrust of it when we came together. We could see it happening in the schools everyday, particularly to our Black boys...And we endeavored to do something about it, but, as I was saying, we were just so drained, it just never got off, off the ground. [speaking quietly] Hopefully, somebody might...

Other participants echoed this sentiment, noting the impact of the energy loss on various community and church activities. Note here that there is both a personal and a community cost. Part of the personal price is in not being able to be fully human, which includes meaningful interaction in community groups and associations.

The spin-off effects of animosity and mistreatment in employment settings can be seen in other areas of the lives of African Americans. One respondent noted the negative impact on participation in church activities:

I have withdrawn from some of the things I was involved with at church that were very important to me, like dealing with the kids at church. Or we had an outreach ministry where we would go out into the low-income housing and we would share about our services, we would -- And I was just so drained, like [names person] said, if we are all so drained, and we stop doing that, then we lose our connection. But I, physically, by the time I got home at the end of the day, I was just so tired, I didn't even feel like giving back to my community, I didn't feel like doing anything. And so, I withdrew from church activities, to the point where I just really was not contributing anything. And it was pulling all that energy, I was exhausted from dealing with what I had to at work. And then whatever little bit was left went to my family, so there was nothing there to give.

The overwhelming impact of workplace racism is graphically described, for even church activities become a problem for this person. What energy there is left after work struggles is reserved for the family. These economically successful African Americans can be important role models in their local communities, but only if they have the energy to participate actively in churches and other community organizations.

¹⁶⁶See, e.g., Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965).

From their discussions of the energy-draining aspects of discrimination, one might wonder how African Americans have developed community organizations and resistance movements over the centuries. Most simply overcome the racism enough to stay in life's struggles. Ironically, the post World War II "medical civil rights movement," which was an effort by African Americans, primarily women, to gain equal access to quality health care, was a precursor to the larger civil rights movement of the 1960s.¹⁶⁷ Such efforts, as well as the efforts involved for the success of the more general civil rights movement of the 1960s, required that activists have good health and the energy necessary to struggle for societal change. While some do "drop out" entirely, and many may do so at some points in their lives, most seem to stay in the struggle most of the time and exert great energy to overcome the barriers. The retired professor above who spoke of the "ergs of energy" lost because of discrimination also went on in his interview to note both his many accomplishments and the issue of what he might have accomplished without racial barriers.

Accumulating discrimination in predominantly White work settings creates serious difficulties not only for African American employees but also for ongoing group relations in these places. A number of comments by the focus group participants suggest or imply that animosity exhibited by White employees make normal interaction across the racial line difficult or impossible. Incidents at work disrupt lives by changing the meaning of the most commonplace of everyday interactions. Moreover, there is unnecessary stress in suspecting a discriminator in new White contacts. Several respondents noted that they felt a need to keep a distance from Whites at work. Indeed, most seemed to agree with this man in his evaluation of coping with White hatred: "I think what helps us as being Black now, we understand what these [White] people think. We understand why they have hate. Where before, coming off the boat when we were slaves we didn't understand it." Note too that slavery remains a reference point for African Americans, even though many White Americans see it as a part of a very distant and irrelevant past.

Discussion and Conclusion

Some literature suggests a "declining significance of race," and an increasing importance of class, concerning the situation of African Americans nationally.¹⁶⁸ Other more recent research goes further to assert the "end of racism" in U.S. society today.¹⁶⁹ Our research flatly contradicts both the assertion that racial discrimination is being replaced by class discrimination, and that racism has been eradicated altogether. While both class and racial characteristics have been shown to interact and cause health problems for African Americans, our research of relatively affluent African Americans demonstrates that racism alone is enough to create serious health problems for them.¹⁷⁰ A racialized society exists because discrimination is practiced, rewarded,

¹⁶⁷See Smith, *supra* note 7.

¹⁶⁸Wilson, *supra* note 28.

¹⁶⁹D'Souza, *supra* note 41.

¹⁷⁰See Kessler & Neighbors, *supra* note 86.

or ignored within important social settings such as historically White workplaces. Our data and that of other recent studies undertaken by the authors and other scholars indicate that discrimination targeting African Americans is still commonplace in a variety of arenas, including government and corporate workplaces.

Much research on racial relations focuses on the attitudes of those who discriminate rather than on the suffering inflicted on the targets of discrimination. A fleshed-out perspective on discrimination directs us to pay attention to particular social settings and to the consequences of racial discrimination in such settings. Recurring discrimination in workplaces and elsewhere wastes human beings and human capital, and seriously restricts and marginalizes its victims, thereby destroying the possibility of normal lives.¹⁷¹ This discrimination is so dehumanizing that in discussing it some Black workers even refer to the "slave-master mentality" of discriminating Whites and to "feeling like a slave" in White workplaces. By marginalizing and dehumanizing Black workers, Whites cause them and their loved ones much damage, pain, and suffering. According to the accounts of the respondents, the damage takes many forms. The negative impact of racial animosity and discrimination includes a sense of threat at work, lowered self-esteem, rage at mistreatment, depression, other psychological problems, the development of defensive tactics, and a reduction in desire for normal interaction at work.

Our respondents perceive from their experience that the often high level of racialized stress in workplaces has generated or aggravated their physical health problems. Most recognize the threat discrimination brings to their health, and most try hard to fight it and its consequences. Not surprisingly in the light of the data from the focus groups, a growing public health literature indicates that there are wide disparities in the physical health of White Americans and African Americans, as well as in the application and use of medical services.¹⁷² A full understanding of the physical and psychological suffering of Black Americans at the hands of White Americans necessitates a close look at the character and impact of the discriminatory workplaces as they are experienced by workers. Sentient human beings react seriously, in their minds and bodies, to mistreatment and discrimination. The recurring and dehumanizing discrimination creates, among other things, marginalization, impotent despair, and rage over persisting injustice.

Our data show that the costs of racial animosity and discrimination extend beyond the individual to families and communities. Social scientists have written much over the last few decades about problems in Black families and communities. This discussion often focuses on "broken" or "disorganized" Black families, with the responsibility for these conditions commonly placed on African Americans for not maintaining their families and communities and for not adhering to certain values.¹⁷³ Moreover, the structural accounts of these family and community problems often fault the economy for its failure to provide enough job training or jobs, through government job programs.¹⁷⁴ Yet, to our knowledge, nowhere in the social science

¹⁷¹See Marsella, *supra* note 31, (describing how racism in the workplace harms not only African Americans, but also the companies in which they are employed and society at large).

¹⁷²See, e.g., Moynihan, *supra* note 165; Auletta, *supra* note 131.

¹⁷³Moynihan, *supra* note 165; Auletta, *supra* note 131; D'Souza, *supra* note 41.

¹⁷⁴Wilson, *supra* note 28.

literature is there a serious discussion of the points made above by our focus group participants about the direct and harsh impact of racial animosity and discrimination on their families, voluntary associations, and communities. The long era of racial discrimination has often reduced the energy available to African Americans to build stronger and better families and communities. While many have managed to build strong families and communities in spite of discrimination, they have done this by exerting super-human efforts that take their toll in other ways, on personal health or on the ability to maximize contributions to the larger society. These accounts suggest that the total cost of racial animosity and discrimination is much higher than most social science and popular accounts have heretofore recognized.

The costs extend to the larger society, a point our focus group participants periodically note. Because African Americans are still subjected to widespread discrimination in the workplace and elsewhere, to a societal division of labor not based on merit, social solidarity in the United States does not match the ideal of advanced organic solidarity with an unforced division of labor premised on merit.¹⁷⁵ Durkheim's analyses and recent research both suggest that a workplace that is very fragmented socially and unsupportive for many workers has not only negative health effects but also negative effects on worker productivity and, ultimately, on societal viability.

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African Americans remain central to the costly system of racial oppression in the United States, and they have long been among the strongest carriers of the ideals of liberty and social justice. In spite of the weight of racial oppression, most have been creative and successful in their lives and communities, and most have regularly pressed the society in the direction of greater liberty and justice. Indeed, their sense of social justice has perhaps the greatest potential for stimulating further movement by this society in the direction of its egalitarian and democratic ideals. African Americans have developed large-scale social movements twice in U.S. history, and smaller-scale movements many other times. Significantly, most African Americans have not retreated to a debilitating pessimism but have slowly pressed onward. Today, they join religious, civic, and civil rights organizations working to eradicate systemic racism, to get civil rights laws enforced, and to secure better living conditions for Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. There are lessons here for all Americans concerned with eliminating systemic racism in the United States.

Today, the state and federal court systems face many challenges, not the least of which is the fact that the U.S. population is rapidly becoming much less White and European and much more Asian, Latino, African, and Native American in its composition. In spite of these changes over the last few decades, however, the overwhelming majority of district attorneys, judges, and court administrators are still White. This means major and increasing problems for the court system. As the mostly White judges look across the bench at growing numbers of defendants of color, their understandings of those they face, and their ability to mete out justice, are likely to be

¹⁷⁵Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (G. Simpson ed., 1933) (1893).

affected by the heritage of White racism that is imbedded not only in the court systems but in all major institutions. These understandings (or lack of understanding) sometimes result in court decisions, such as the Etter decision by a California court, that do not view Black workers' representations of pain and suffering from recurring racial insults as severe. In that case, racist epithets such as "Buckwheat," "Jemima," and the like were not seen as "sufficiently severe or pervasive" to warrant a judicial remedy. Yet, as we have shown, racist epithets and incidents can be very serious, painful, and damaging to their African American targets. The hurling of even a few racist words can be a very hostile and discriminatory act, and that can in turn generate much pain, especially since even one such act can trigger memories of accumulated experiences with racism by those so targeted.

In the Etter case, a White judge called on a jury to assess if a "reasonable person of the Plaintiff's race" would consider the reported anti-Black conduct severe. However, judging from the data in our focus groups and in studies of Whites we have cited, the pain and suffering most African Americans endure because of continuing racism are likely not known to or understood by most Whites, be they White jurors or other White Americans. How then can Whites presume to answer the judge's critical question?

As we see it, such questions can be most meaningfully and reliably answered when there are larger, or representative, numbers of African Americans in the state and federal court systems. If we are to achieve the dream of a truly just society, we must greatly expand the input into our justice systems by African Americans and other Americans of color--at all levels, from policing, to prosecution, to administration, to courts, and to prisons. It is past time for the U.S. justice system to become much more democratic, multiracial, and multi-voiced in its management and everyday operation. And it is past time for the pain, suffering, and anger that African Americans and other Americans of color confront because of widespread discrimination to be truly heard in the justice system.

Ethnicity-related stress, Mental Health, and Well-being

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Abstract

Ethnicity-related stress and its relation to mental health and physical outcomes for African Americans is discussed. Sources of ethnicity-related stress and coping strategies are identified. The results from two studies on group differences in the mental health related variable of Negative Affectivity (Neuroticism) are reported. The first study demonstrated African Americans ($N = 171$) to be significantly lower than Caucasians ($N = 211$) on Negative Affectivity facets of anger, discouragement, self-consciousness, and impulsivity. The second study found African Americans ($N = 135$) to be significantly lower than Caucasians ($N = 149$) on the general factor of Negative Affectivity. The importance of identifying mediating factors between ethnic-related stress and outcomes is emphasized.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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Earlier work indicated that African Americans had lower levels of Negative Affectivity (Neuroticism) than Caucasians (Johnson, 2000). The present study extends this finding within the context of past research on reactions to prejudice and current literature on responses to ethnicity-related sources of stress (Contrada, Ashmore, Gary, Coups, Egeth, Sewell, Ewell, Goyal, & Chasse, 2000).

Historically, it was believed that stigmatized groups and those who were discriminated against would exhibit mental health outcomes consistent with internalization of negative stereotypes. Further, outcomes such as depression, anxiety, and antisocial behavior as reactions to prejudice were considered to be almost inevitable. For example, Allport (1954; 1979) posed the question, "What would happen to your personality if you heard it said over and over again that you are lazy and had inferior blood?" (p. 42).

Other writers perceived that responses of African Americans to prejudice and oppression would be negative, detrimental to personality development, and lead to psychopathology such as depression, anxiety, and poor self-esteem (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Thomas & Sillen, 1972). Such negative psychological outcomes would be consistent with elevations in the personality factor of Neuroticism (N), which has long been acknowledged for its role in mental health and well-being (cf. Eysenck, (1944); Tellegen, (1985).

Ethnicity-related stress

Although it has long been acknowledged that African Americans, as members of a stigmatized group, may be exposed to generally higher levels of stress than Caucasians, it is only recently that specific sources of such stress have been identified and described. Earlier notions regarding sources of stress included difficulties associated with identity development within a racist and dominant culture (Jackson, 1975), the necessity to adapt to racism (Jones, 1991), and the inherent difficulties associated with acquisition of bicultural competence (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). At the very least, African Americans must somehow reconcile their "double consciousness" (DuBois, 1903, p. 5) and address the "triple quandary" (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 39) of being American, a minority, and possessing a cultural legacy of slavery with its subsequent history of oppression, segregation, and lack of justice.

Recent conceptualizations of ethnic-related stress have appeared in the literature. Primary concepts include ethnic discrimination, stereotype threat, and own-group conformity pressure (Contrada, et al. 2000). Subsumed under ethnic discrimination would be stress associated with attributional ambiguity (Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998). Contrada, et al. (2000)

note the attention has shifted from the perpetrators of prejudice and discrimination to the inner phenomenology of the individual who is the target of discrimination. Further, the contribution of stress theory and recent broadening of outcomes to include psychological and physical well-being are acknowledged.

Ethnic discrimination

Contrada, et al. (2000) describe ethnic discrimination as an ever-present psychological stressor that involves unfair treatment of a person due to their ethnicity. Consistent with trends emphasizing more subtle forms of prejudiced behavior that range upon a continuum (e.g. modern or aversive racism), five forms of ethnic discrimination are identified. These include verbal rejection (racial slurs, insults), avoidance (shunning), disvaluation (behaviors signaling negative evaluations), inequality-exclusion (denial of equal treatment or access), and threat-aggression (harm that is threatened or actual).

There is evidence that a majority of African Americans have been the target of ethnic discrimination. Krieger (1990) reported that close to two thirds of African-American participants experienced one or more instances of ethnic discrimination or racially biased treatment. The two most common forms of discrimination for those who were employed included job discrimination and discrimination within the workplace. Feagin (1991) described a range of discriminatory acts varying from physical threats to avoidance behaviors on the part of Caucasians. The most common incidents involved rejection or poor service in public establishments such as restaurants or retail stores. Landrine and Klonoff (1996) documented evidence to support the claim that racial discrimination is relatively common in America and serves as a culturally specific stressor for African Americans.

Obviously, interpersonal interactions between stigmatized and non-stigmatized group members can be jeopardized due to ethnic discrimination. Specifically, the chronic possibility of experiencing prejudice may lead a stigmatized person to remain constantly vigilant for cues regarding prejudice, particularly when interacting with nonstigmatized group members who may feel anxious and behave accordingly (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996). Further, non-stigmatized individuals often believe they are not prejudiced and may be unaware of behaving in a prejudiced manner (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), leaving the stigmatized person in an interpersonally ambiguous situation.

More subtle forms of discrimination frequently create ambiguous situations which must be interpreted and may or may not be reacted to or acted upon. Further, they require judgment regarding whether they truly occurred and their ultimate significance for the individual. Contrada et al. (2000) note that discriminatory behavior is frequently ambiguous because behaviors can be "subtle or involve treatment that is of borderline acceptability ("The waiter seemed to be ignoring me ..."), the ethnicity-related motives that define them as discriminatory ("...because I am black ...") are often unobservable, and the behavior in question may be subject to alternative explanations ("...though the restaurant was extremely busy") (p. 137).

From the standpoint of mental health and psychological outcomes, such internal cognitive self-statements are likely mildly troubling at best, and serve as a distraction not experienced by

majority group members. At worst, they represent an additional overlay of complexity and potential negative consequences that may be ubiquitous and occasionally overwhelming. This lack of clarity in terms of causal attributions for another's behavior is labeled attributional ambiguity.

Attributional ambiguity

Crocker et al. (1998) discuss the uncertainty associated with interpersonal interactions when one is a member of a stigmatized group. Attributional ambiguity can refer to both negative and positive outcomes of interactions with others. For example, a member of a stigmatized group may believe someone is behaving towards them in a prejudicial and discriminatory manner, but lack certitude in their belief. Conversely, positive behaviors from others may be ambiguous and open to varying interpretations on the part of the stigmatized. Hence, the individual is confronted with a lack of clarity regarding explanations of another's behavior.

There are several potential consequences that can occur when a stigmatized individual experiences a negative evaluation or interaction with a person from a non-stigmatized group. One such consequence is the attribution of the negative outcome to prejudice and discrimination on the part of the sender of the message. On the other hand, a stigmatized person may experience attributional ambiguity where they are uncertain whether prejudice or a genuine negative evaluation is occurring. The concept of attributional ambiguity means that a negative interaction can be interpreted in several different ways ranging from one's lack of merit or poor performance to the occurrence of prejudicial behavior based upon one's membership in a stigmatized group.

Crocker et al. (1998) note that negative outcomes springing from prejudice but ambiguously interpreted may threaten self-esteem. That is, "It should be less threatening to self-esteem to *be sure* that a rejection is the result of prejudice than to *wonder* whether it might have been due to prejudice" (p. 520, emphasis added). Knowledge that one is treated negatively due to racism or sexism may have a self-esteem buffering function, in that the negative interaction or feedback is explained by the perpetrator's biases, while lack of clarity results in potentially self-esteem damaging attributions regarding one's perceived weaknesses or limitations. Ironically, manifestations of prejudice that are less overt and more "modern" likely create a greater potential for ambiguity. Hence, modern racism may be more self-esteem threatening than overt (hence less ambiguous) forms of racism.

Positive interactions can also create opportunities for attributional ambiguity. Crocker et al. (1998) note that positive responses towards stigmatized persons may reflect a variety of motivations. Motivations include the attempt to demonstrate egalitarianism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) or avoid the appearance of prejudice (Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1977). Of course, positive interactions can also reflect genuine feelings of affection and respect (Carver, et al. 1977). Nevertheless, the ambiguity surrounding the positive interaction can threaten self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989) in that a stigmatized individual may discount positive interactions or inputs simply because they were obtained via their membership in a stigmatized group, resulting in difficulties in assuming personal credit for positive events.

Stereotype threat

A second major ethnic-related stressor is stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). This involves a situation where a negative stereotype about one's group becomes "self-relevant" (p. 616) with a variety of possible consequences for the stigmatized or stereotyped individual. In the typical instance, self-relevance occurs when a person is in a situation that is important to their identity and sense of self. That is, they are personally invested in the interaction or outcome. This magnifies the importance of the particular situation or experience since it is connected, sometimes intricately, to an individual's self-concept.

For example, in situations involving a performance criterion (such as obtaining a good score on the Graduate Record Exam), the individual whose self-identity is strongly related to academic achievement would experience a "self-relevant" situation. If a negative stereotype about the person's group is present, they are vulnerable to stereotype threat which may have a variety of negative consequences, including increased pressure to perform and interference in performance. Steele (1997) provides examples and empirical support for the construct of stereotype threat for women and African Americans.

Own-group conformity pressure

The final source of ethnicity-related stress is that of own-group conformity pressure (Contrada, et al. 2000). As the name implies, this stressor emanates from one's own group when the individual experiences pressure from group expectations that specify acceptable or unacceptable behavior. Among diverse college students, examples include such things as pressures to listen to certain music or dress a certain way, or to refrain from dating a member of a different ethnic group.

Contrada, et al. (2000) note the three ethnic-related stressors of ethnic discrimination, stereotype threat, and own-group conformity pressure are relatively independent of each other. Hence, an individual can experience one or all three of them, and to varying degrees. Of course, these are also likely superimposed upon or coexistent with non ethnic-linked stressors such as marital strife, financial difficulties and vocational stress.

Mental health and physical well-being of African Americans

There are at least three ways that racism can negatively affect mental health outcomes (Williams & Williams, 2000). First, social and institutional racism can contribute to substandard living conditions, decreased access to desired resources, and limited socioeconomic advancement. Secondly, experience of ethnic-related discrimination can induce both physiological and psychological reactions that ultimately negatively impact mental health status. Finally, it has been hypothesized that acceptance of negative stereotypes can lead to negative self-evaluations that can impact well-being (Williams & Williams, 2000).

Mental health outcomes

There is a widely held assumption that individuals who are targets of racism and discrimination must necessarily react with low self-esteem, anger, depression, and dissatisfaction (Crocker, et al. 1998). However, empirical research regarding higher prevalence rates of mental health difficulties and lack of well-being in African Americans has not consistently supported this idea. Thus, ethnicity-related stressors constitute a reality of daily life for African Americans but do not appear to globally or consistently affect negative psychological outcomes.

In the area of self-esteem, African Americans do not score lower than whites on measures (Crocker et al. 1998). Crocker and Major (1989) reviewed studies comparing the self-esteem between various groups and concluded: "In short, this research, conducted over a time span of more than 20 years, leads to the surprising conclusion that prejudice against members of stigmatized or oppressed groups generally does not result in lowered self-esteem for members of those groups" (p. 611). In terms of negative evaluations of one's social group, Crocker, et al. (1994) studied the collective self-esteem of African-American and other groups and found that African-American students privately evaluated their racial group more positively than did Caucasians or Asian-Americans. Hence, the consensus in the literature is that African Americans do not exhibit either individual or collective self-esteem decrements relative to Caucasians.

Studies regarding the outcome of depression in African Americans are mixed, likely partly related to lack of covariance or matching on the variable of socioeconomic status (Aneshensel, Clark, & Frerichs, 1983). However, there is some evidence for higher rates of depressive symptoms in African Americans (Crocker et al. 1998). Similarly, Williams, Spencer, & Jackson (1999) demonstrated ethnic discrimination to be associated with negative psychological and physical health outcomes. Broman, Mavaddat, & Hsu (2000), using a learned helplessness framework, demonstrated a significant link between experience of discrimination, decreased sense of mastery, and psychological distress in their sample of African Americans.

In contrast, Johnson and Johnson (1992) demonstrated African Americans were less likely to be distressed when compared with other inner-city residents of varying races. Along similar lines, McNulty, Graham, Ben-Porath, and Stein (1997) did not find significant differences in depression or anxiety scales of the MMPI-2 between African Americans and Caucasians. Contrada et al. (2000) note that the literature has yet to separate the relative contributions of ethnic-related stress, socioeconomic status, and other causal determinants to mental health outcomes in African Americans.

The role of the personality factor of Negative Affectivity, or Neuroticism (N), in mental health outcomes has long been acknowledged. That is, higher levels of N are associated with anxiety, unhappiness and depression, and less well-being and life satisfaction (see Eysenck, (1944) for an early exposition of the role of Neuroticism in mental health). In essence, higher levels of N correlate with greater anxiety, and anxious individuals experience more intense negative emotional mood states than non-anxious ones (cf. Tellegen, 1985). High scorers are generally emotionally reactive, tense, alert, and anxious. In contrast, low scorers are stress-free, controlled, content, and secure. Examination of the six facets (subscales) that comprise N reveal

constructs with demonstrable association to indices of mental health and well-being. These six facets include worry, anger, discouragement, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, and vulnerability.

Physical health outcomes

Increasingly, psychological stress is implicated as a contributant to physical well being and outcomes. Physical outcomes include such variables as hypertension, cardiac disease, cancer, and substance abuse. African Americans have higher rates of hypertension that are believed to be related to socioeconomic status (Kotchen, Kotchen, & Schwertman, 1974). The American Heart Association (1993) reported death rates from high blood pressure in 1990 to be 6% for Caucasian males, 30% for African-American males, 5% for Caucasian females, and 23% for African-American females.

As an adult risk factor for coronary heart disease, hypertension no doubt contributes to the higher rates of coronary disease found in African Americans. The American Heart Association (1993) reported data on death rates for cerebrovascular accidents (strokes) in 1990 as follows: 28% for Caucasian males, 56% for African-American males, 24% for Caucasian females, and 43% for African-American females. As can be seen, there are dramatic differences between groups for both hypertension and coronary disease.

Some authors have invoked the role of ethnicity-related stressors, particularly discrimination, as contributory to negative physical outcomes (Contrada, et al. 2000). For example, Livingston (1993) focused on the relationship between stress and hypertension in young African-American men. This author found that more than 10% of African-American male and 1% of female children exhibited evidence of high blood pressure while essentially no Caucasian children exhibited such evidence. Livingston (1993) concluded that young African-American men are particularly susceptible to high blood pressure.

Along similar lines, Krieger and Sidney (1996) found that African-American higher blood pressure (relative to Caucasians) could be partially explained when the experience of discrimination and ensuing responses to such treatment are considered. Such arguments are supported by a study performed by Armstead, Lawler, Gorden, Cross, and Gibbons (1989), who demonstrated increased cardiovascular responses in African-American respondents when shown videotapes of situations involving discrimination.

The present study is descriptive in nature and hence exploratory. The research evidence on negative mental health outcomes for African Americans is contradictory and there is no empirical consensus regarding whether this group is particularly prone to depression or elevations in Negative Affectivity. Hence, there are no *a priori* hypotheses.

Study One

Method

Participants: included 383 individuals who completed the NEO-PI-R (Costa & McCrae, 1992) as part of their training for the position of Equal Opportunity Advisor with the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI). There were 172 African Americans and 211 Caucasians. The sample included 244 men (63.2%) and 142 females (36.8%). Some of these data have been reported elsewhere (Johnson, 2000); however, not at the same level of detail as in the present paper.

Procedure: The NEO-PI-R was administered and scored according to standard procedures.

Results

Initial analyses indicated a significant difference in age between African American and Caucasian participants ($t(381) = 4.60, p < .0001$). The mean age for African Americans was 32.56 ($SD = 10.52$) and 36.74 ($SD = 7.26$) for Caucasians. Hence, age was covaried throughout subsequent analyses.

An analysis of covariance with race as a factor and age as a covariate indicated no significant effect for race on Neuroticism ($F(1, 381) = 2.02, p < .15$). However, a multiple analysis of covariance on Neuroticism facets indicated an effect for race (Wilks' Lambda = 2.89, $p < .009$). Specifically, the facets of anger ($F(1, 381) = 4.11, p < .04$), discouragement ($F(1, 381) = 6.83, p < .009$), self-consciousness ($F(1, 381) = 7.65, p < .006$), and impulsivity ($F(1, 381) = 7.80, p < .006$) were significantly different between African Americans and Caucasians.

African Americans were significantly lower ($M = 48.65$) on anger than whites ($M = 50.76$). They were also lower on discouragement ($M = 46.85$) and self-consciousness ($M = 48.02$) than whites ($M = 49.52, M = 51.14$, respectively). Finally, African Americans ($M = 46.85$) were lower than whites ($M = 49.66$) on the facet of impulsivity.

Study Two

Method

Participants: included 268 individuals who completed the Five Factor Inventory (FFI) as part of their training for the position of Equal Opportunity Advisor with the Defense Equal Opportunity Institute (DEOMI). There were 135 African Americans and 149 Caucasians. The sample included 173 men (60.9%) and 109 females (38.4%). The mean age for the entire sample ($N = 268$) was 36.73 ($SD = 7.17$) and there were no significant differences in age between the two groups.

Procedure: The FFI was administered and scored according to standard instructions.

Results

An analysis of variance indicated significant differences between African- Americans and Caucasians on Neuroticism ($F(1, 282) = 4.45, p < .03$). The mean for Caucasians was 45.39 ($SD = 10.29$) and 43 ($SD = 8.59$) for African Americans.

Discussion

The present study replicated past research and documented differences in Neuroticism between African Americans and Caucasians. For the most part, African Americans are lower on this factor, and specifically have lower levels of anger, discouragement, and self-consciousness. It is uncertain why this may be the case. Some authors have discussed psychosocial aspects of defense against racism such as armoring (Edmondson, Ella, & Nkomo, 1998) as a buffer zone between the individual and a typically racist society. Others have described levels of spirituality and religious commitment within the African-American community that may function to counteract Neuroticism-associated features such as negative affect and discouragement. However, a comprehensive description and analysis of such potential mediators has not occurred.

A major question remains regarding how an individual can withstand ethnic-related stressors such as discrimination, attributional ambiguity, and being a member of a devalued or stigmatized group, and NOT demonstrate decreased mental health functioning and lack of well being. Future research should examine this seemingly inconsistent juxtaposition, and identify important mediators of the relation between ethnic-related stress, psychological, and physical outcomes.

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A New Social Distance Study: Preliminary Findings

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Abstract

In 1926, Emory Bogardus developed an effective research instrument to measure the extent of one's group preferences. This survey was administered five times nationally between 1926 and 1977, and has been widely cited in many books and articles. This new study, with its questionnaire revised to include more recent racial and ethnic groups, provides important insights into intergroup relations in today's diverse society.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

A New Social Distance Study: Preliminary Findings

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Originally conceived by Emory Bogardus and first administered nationally in 1926, the social distance scale is a measurement tool to identify the degree of social acceptance or distance that individuals express in relation to thirty ethnic, racial, or religious groups. Through a series of earlier pilot studies and structured input from other behavioral scientists, Bogardus devised a scale of seven categories along a continuum. These categories were: “would marry,” “would have as regular friends,” “would have several families in my neighborhood,” “would work beside in an office,” “would have merely as speaking acquaintances,” “would have as visitors to my country,” and “would bar from entering my country.” These seven categories would remain essentially the same in subsequent studies conducted in 1946, 1956, 1966, and 1977.

Social distance scores for each group ranged from 1 (marriage) to 7 (bar from entering the country). Therefore, the lower the score, the greater the degree of intimacy a respondent would grant to members of a particular racial or ethnic group. Generally, in all previous studies, non-ethnic U.S. Whites and northern and western Europeans dominated the top third, with racial minorities in the bottom third, and a mixture of groups in the middle.

Since 1977, no national study replicating the five studies from 1926 to 1977 has been done, until now. Perhaps a primary reason for this long interval is that the demographic changes in U.S. society since 1977 so affected its diversity, that the original list of 30 groups became obsolete, making further comparisons useless. This study attempted to preserve the Bogardus legacy of social distance measurement yet meet the challenge presented by a far more diverse society. To do so, some groups—no longer visible minorities—were deleted to make room for newer groups both sizable in number and highly visible as minorities.

Methodology

To update the survey instrument, seven groups were removed because they were either mostly assimilated and/or far less visible minority groups than others; these were the Armenians, Czechs, Finns, Norwegians, Scots, Swedish, and Turks. In addition, Japanese Americans and Mexican Americans were deleted, while keeping Japanese and Mexicans in the list. This change allowed for greater consistency in the designation of all groups. Added to the list, because of their numbers and high visibility, were Africans, Arabs, Cubans, Dominicans, Haitians, Jamaicans, Muslims, Puerto Ricans, and Vietnamese, for a total of nine new groups.

Otherwise, the survey instrument remained the same as before. On a single page were the instructions and items to be completed. At the top of the page were various identifiers to be

used as variables: gender, age, race, religion, ethnicity, education level, geographical background, with the additional categories of student's citizenry and parents' citizenry. Underneath, along the left side of the paper was an alphabetical listing of the 30 groups, with seven columns of circles alongside each. Above these seven columns were the seven social distance categories used in previous studies to denote how close the respondent would accept members of a particular group.

Replicating previous studies, the national survey sample represented four geographic regions: East, South, Midwest, and West. A scientifically selected random sample determined which colleges and universities would be invited to participate. The number of surveys to be completed at each institution was prorated, as determined by its total enrollment. Six schools were chosen from the East and South, and five schools from the Midwest and West, for a total of 22. This procedure ensured a balanced representation, fairly distributed over the four regions, and thus comparable to previous studies.

Respondents

A total of 2,916 students enrolled in 22 colleges and universities throughout the United States participated. As with previous studies, the respondents were enrolled in social science, primarily sociology, courses, and no questionnaires were distributed in classes on minority groups or race relations. All survey sheets were filled out anonymously, under specific guidelines set by each institution's Institutional Research Board (IRB) for human subjects research.

The racial breakdown of respondents was fairly close to national totals. Caucasians comprised 73 percent, followed by Blacks (11.4 percent), Asian and Pacific Islanders (8.3 percent), and Native Americans (1.6 percent), with nearly six percent claiming other or a multi-racial identity. Hispanics accounted for 11.3 of all respondents. Catholics and Protestants constituted 61 percent of all respondents, but the 38 percent Catholic participation was higher than the national proportion of about 28 percent. Protestants totaled 23 percent. The remainder were Jewish (5 percent), Muslim (1 percent), or other (33 percent). The latter category was mostly "no religion," as well as a small number of other faiths such as Hindu and Buddhist. In the 1977 study, respondents were 37 percent Protestant, 37 percent Catholic, 5 percent Jewish, and 21 percent "other."

Females, at 62 percent, were a higher proportion than the typical college population or national norm, perhaps due to sampling social science classes. This higher female proportion was usual in the past national studies also. For example, the 1977 study had a 58 percent female participation, while the participants in the 1925 Bogardus study were two-thirds female. Participants' geographical home backgrounds and educational levels approximated normal expectations. The majority lived in suburbs, while nearly one-fourth came from urban areas and about one-seventh from rural areas. About 46 percent were first-year undergraduates in all majors taking an introductory social science course, with a descending proportion thereafter as the level of education increased.

Nearly 12 percent of respondents were born outside the United States, equaling that of the total U.S. population. Asked if one or both parents were born outside the United States, nearly 23 percent responded in the affirmative.

Findings

Although this analysis is not directly comparable with the five previous national studies because of changes in the list of groups, some comparisons are still possible in terms of arithmetic means and social distance spread. With a larger sample size than for the previous studies, the total responses were thus also larger, reaching 126,053. The new list of 30 groups received an overall mean social distance score of 1.44, with a range from lowest to highest scores of 0.87. Despite the removal of more assimilated groups and the addition of less assimilated groups to the list, these were the lowest scores ever, thus continuing the downward trend in mean scores and spread found in earlier studies.

Comparative analysis of the scores received by each of the 30 groups provides valuable insights into their levels of social acceptance (see Table 1). As expected, non-ethnic Whites remained in the most accepted, top position, with other top ten slots filled by Canadians, British, Irish, French, Germans, and Dutch, essentially continuing a 70-year pattern. What is particularly striking about the new listing, however, is the dramatic rise of Italians into the second position, Greeks into the seventh position, and African Americans into the ninth position. Italians—finishing fifth in the 1977 study—leapfrogged this time over the previously dominating English, Canadians, and French, thanks to all groups—Asian, black, Hispanic, white—ranking them above other white ethnic groups.

Italians, often disparaged and seen as “nonassimilable” in the early twentieth century, have become one of the most socially acceptable groups in the early twenty-first century. As for the Greeks and African Americans, some advancement might have been expected because of the deletion of groups previously ahead of them (Swedish, Scots, Norwegians, Finns). However, they also succeeded in moving up past the Dutch, American Indians, Spanish, and Jews, who ranked ahead of them in the last study.

Three groups, mired in the bottom third in the past three studies, moved up into the middle sector and their advances were significant. Compared to the 1977 study, the Filipinos improved eight places, the Chinese six places, and the Russians went from next to last to twentieth place, a gain of nine positions. Gains by the Chinese and Filipinos appear to be primarily the result of the elimination of eight groups (Swedish, Scots, Norwegians, Finns, Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, Armenians, and Czechs) who had ranked ahead of them, for the remaining groups remain either ahead or behind them as before.

In the case of the Russians, however, their upward surge also took them past the Japanese, Mexicans, and Asian Indians, all of whom had ranked higher than them in 1977. The fall of communism in Russia and improved relations with its new government, including that country’s active support in the U.S. war against terrorists in Afghanistan, may well have affected the closer social distance that respondents now perceive towards those of Russian ethnicity.

Three new groups to the list—Africans, Puerto Ricans, and Jamaicans—made a reasonably strong debut, positioned in thirteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth places, respectively.

The other six new groups on the list—Dominicans, Cubans, Haitians, Vietnamese, Muslims, and Arabs, in that order—placed in the bottom third. Without question, the administration of this survey so soon after September 11th produced results tempered by the tragic events of that day. Arabs, for example, received the highest number of “bar from entering my country” responses, a total of 112 (3.8 percent). At the same time, Arabs also received one of the lowest responses (52 percent) for marrying into one’s family, while Muslims received 50 percent similarly low responses. With a greater social distance score than that given other groups, Arabs ranked last among the 30 groups. Nevertheless, their overall mean score was 1.94, lower than the mean scores for 18 groups in the 1977 study. Muslims fared only slightly better, finishing one place higher with a mean score of 1.88.

Even though their mean scores improved over past scores, the Japanese (twenty-second), Koreans (twenty-fourth), Mexicans (twenty-fifth), and Asian Indians (twenty-sixth)—as in all previous studies—continued to rank in the third sector. In fact, with the notable exception of the Chinese (seventeenth), all other Asian groups are in this sector. Two West Indian groups—Puerto Ricans (eighteenth) and Jamaicans (nineteenth) are in the middle sector, but the remaining West Indian groups—Dominicans (twenty-first), Cubans (twenty-third), and Haitians (twenty-seventh)—are in the third sector.

Discussion

The findings are encouraging in many ways. Race, religion, gender, and citizenship all affected one’s responses as well as a group’s social acceptance. However, the spread in social distance—despite (1) increased diversity in society, (2) a revised list reflecting that demographic reality, and (3) increased diversity among respondents—continues to shrink. The overall mean score of 1.44 is significantly lower than the 1.92 and 1.93 overall mean scores in 1966 and 1977. These results may suggest a growing level of acceptance of diverse groups, even though many are recent arrivals, racial minorities, and/or from nonwestern lands.

Another intriguing finding is that only one-hundredth of a point separates a group from the next ranked group in positions 13 through 25. Therefore, in the middle part of the list, the exact placement of a group in relation to those near it should not be given too much importance, given the close scores, as these rankings may be the result of sampling variability.

In some ways, little changed in the pattern of responses. U.S. whites remained top-ranked, with the various European groups continuing to occupy most of the upper ranks, while a variety of racial minorities, especially Asians, continued to rank near the bottom. Significantly, however, African Americans—in placing ninth—broke the racial barrier in entering the top sector and placing ahead of other white ethnic groups.

Remarkably, despite media reports of sporadic instances in the nine-eleven aftermath of group blame and hate crimes against those identified (sometimes erroneously) as Arabs or

Muslims, that mindset did not extend to most respondents in this survey. While relegating Muslims and Arabs to the bottom, respondents nevertheless gave them lower (that is, more socially acceptable) mean scores than those received by 18 of the 30 groups in the 1977 study. Respondents' distinction between the ethnicity of the terrorists and others who were Arabs and/or Muslims was apparent in these scores, even lower than those given to past low-ranked groups. Indeed, this is an impressive finding.

Of course, external events do influence attitudes. Previous social distance studies revealed how World War II affected responses about Japanese in 1946 and the Cold War affected responses about Russians in 1966 and 1977. The ranking of Muslims and Arabs in the last two places is hardly surprising as a repercussion of the terrorist attacks, but how do we explain their comparatively low social distance nonetheless? Perhaps the answer is the same as in the strong findings for African Americans and other groups as well.

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks, Americans coalesced around the suddenly popular motto, "United we stand" and acted accordingly. Reminded of the diversity among the thousands of victims, motivated by civic leaders calling for tolerance, and inspired by patriotism against terrorist enemies, Americans displayed greater acceptance of others unlike themselves. Since this study was undertaken in the seven weeks following nine-eleven, it is quite possible that this mindset affected the results, generating more positive responses than might otherwise have occurred had everyone's world not changed so dramatically after the survey was conducted.

Perhaps this study thus bears witness to the "unity syndrome," the coalescing of various groups against a common enemy who attacked our country. Only time will tell how lasting this new spirit is, both in the bottom rankings of Muslims and Arabs, and in the low social distance scores for all groups. Yet even if the unity syndrome lessens in its power, this study illustrates that greater acceptance of diversity is not only possible, but achievable. Finally, this study only captures social acceptance of groups at a given moment in time. It is neither conclusive nor indicative of new patterns. Future replications of this social distance study will hopefully give a clearer picture of how tolerant Americans remain in their ever-growing multi-racial, multi-cultural society.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL DISTANCE RANKINGS IN 2001

Rank	Group	Score	Rank	Group	Score	Rank	Group	Score
1	Americans	1.07	11	Jews	1.38	21	Dominicans	1.51
2	Italians	1.15	12	Indians (American)	1.40	22	Japanese	1.52
3	Canadians	1.20	13	Africans	1.43	23	Cubans	1.53
4	British	1.23	14	Polish	1.44	24	Koreans	1.54
5	Irish	1.24	15	Other Hispanics/Latinos	1.45	25	Mexicans	1.55
6	French	1.28	16	Filipinos	1.46	26	Indians (India)	1.60
7	Greeks	1.32	17	Chinese	1.47	27	Haitians	1.63
8	Germans	1.33	18	Puerto Ricans	1.48	28	Vietnamese	1.69
9	African Americans	1.34	19	Jamaicans	1.49	29	Muslims	1.88
10	Dutch	1.35	20	Russians	1.50	30	Arabs	1.94

Arithmetic mean of 126,053 responses: 1.44

Spread in distance: 0.87

What Do We Really Know About the Impact of Culture and Ethnicity on the Functioning of Heterogeneous Work-Groups: Implications for the Military¹

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Abstract

This paper summarizes most of the extant research on the factors that impact productivity in heterogeneous work groups. Based on this survey, it is concluded that much of the research is flawed and hence, few conclusions can be drawn on how culture and ethnicity effects such productivity. I suggest new methodologies to “unpack” culture from ethnicity and study their separate effects on how such groups interact and achieve their missions. From these suggestions, I go on to look at the procedures and processes used in the military to form work groups and to assure their functioning. Suggestions are made as to how such groups can be made more productive in the military setting.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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What do we really know about the impact of culture and ethnicity on the functioning of heterogeneous work-groups: Implications for the military²

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As a beginning to my presentation, I ask you to remember Gordon Allport's famous definition of social psychology: "...an attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling, and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, *imagined*, or *implied presence* of other human beings..." (Allport, 1954, p. 5, italics added). I shall return to this later in the talk.

Having said all that, let me turn to the topic of this talk. I can think of no topic that fits as well under the research tent of the Academy as trying to puzzle out how heterogeneous work groups can interact profitably and comfortably together. This is not an issue of exclusive concern to academics. In a 1989 survey (Sirota, Alper, Pfau, & Inc., 1989), one of the most frequently cited future concerns by business leaders was how to manage an increasingly diverse work force. As is well-known by now, the Work Force 2000 study estimated that by now that over 50% of the growth in the work force would be ethnic minorities and that over 20% of the entrants will be non-native to America (Jackson, 1992; Johnston, 1991; Johnston & Packer, 1987). The latest census figures suggest that Hispanics will shortly overtake African-Americans as the largest minority group, thus making fully a quarter of our population from just these two non-White groups. Already, there is no majority group in California. Therefore, it will be virtually impossible to construct a work group of any kind that is not racially or culturally heterogeneous. These concerns are not new, but they have gained a new urgency driven by the demographic changes that are now upon us and the emergence of equal opportunity as a legitimate activity of governments.

In a way, those shifts have been paralleled by the foci of many social and organizational psychology studies. In the years before integration became a potential reality in American life, which I date from Truman's order desegregating the Armed Forces in July of 1948 (which in many ways was more important than Roosevelt's desegregating war plants in 1941), social psychologists confined themselves mainly to studying the efficiency of group versus individual

² Approximation of a paper delivered by the first author as an invited address to the December, 2001 Research Symposium at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. The address is based partially on the Presidential Address at the 2nd Biennial Meeting of the International Academy for Intercultural Research, April 22, 2001, Oxford, Mississippi. The research reported here was supported by a grant from the Office of Naval Research (#N00014-98-1-0347) to the first author. We express our appreciation to Stephanie Ingram, Korrie Kashuba, Chesley Nance, William A. O'Shea, and Jason Hitt who aided in the gathering of these data, to Michael Landis, of Sinister Software, who wrote the SALES CALL program, and to Dr. Tanja Blackstone, Program Officer at ONR who was of great support during the grant period. Comments and requests for reprints should be addressed to the first author at: Center for Applied Research and Evaluation, 301 Leavell Hall, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677 (e-mail: landisd@watervalley.net)

achievement on any number of problems. The model for most of these researches was, of course, Floyd Allport's 1920 study of the effect of being in a group on problem solving behavior. (Allport, 1920). In general, we found that being with others (i.e., having an audience) did seem to improve performance, a finding that was replicated many years later by Zajonc's famous cockroach "cheering section" studies. However, with a very few exceptions, little was done to examine the effects of the composition of the group until the 1960s. In addition, even at that point, the focus of many of the studies was not on racial or cultural heterogeneity, but on gender. Why this happened to be the case is not hard to puzzle: there were few African-Americans in historically white universities who could be recruited as research subjects. However, there were plenty of females.

I suspect that another driving force was the Second World War when a people kept in psychological and physical isolation for two millennia (Carroll, 2001) were ruthlessly exterminated. In America, this group was kept from buying houses in neighborhoods, turned away from the best hotels and country clubs, restricted entry to the most selective universities and denied employment in many organizations (sound familiar?). Nevertheless, with the end of the war, the barriers gradually fell as Anti-Semitism began to fall out of favor. The group dynamics movement founded by Kurt Lewin began as a way of reducing Anti-Semitism in the Boston area (Morrow, 1969). To be sure, there had been other genocides in this and other centuries, but somehow (perhaps because Auschwitz, etc., was the culmination of rejection and persecution that began in the years after Golgatha) this one seemed different. More horrible, perhaps. Or, as John Carroll would suggest that the concentration camps were the result of two thousand years of Christian belief and thinking originating when Christianity turned to a focus on the death rather than the life of Christ, of opportunities missed and roads not taken (e.g., the philosophical analyses of Peter Abelard in the 11th century). Hence, it seemed to require a radical rethinking of how American society was to treat those who were not seen as part of a majority.

But, the emerging interest among social psychologists did not translate, at least in any material sense, to studies of teams, when the teams involved members of rejected groups (the best they could come up with were women). What studies that were done, focused almost exclusively on stereotypes and attitudes on the parts of majority individuals and usually did not involve any kind of group decision (e.g., Schwarzwald & Yinon, 1977). The Robber's Cave studies were a notable exception. This is perhaps understandable since, again, members of rejected groups (such as African-Americans, Jews, Turks, etc.) were not generally found among the subject populations who could be convinced to participate in experiments.

A second trend was to focus on other variables of group composition that did not involve race or ethnicity. This became the primary interest of organizational psychologists. Here the desire was to model the workforce as it then existed where workgroups might consist of people with different attitudes, knowledge, and who come from different functions within the organization. This would, coincidentally, fit well within the parameters of subject availability in most university settings.

Therefore, we find Norman Maier and his colleagues (e.g., Hoffman & Maier, 1961; Maier & Hoffman, 1960) focusing on intellectual heterogeneity and varying types of tasks (e.g., creative vs. routine tasks---a variation that Allport had used some 40 years before). And, in

1965, (Triandis, Hall, & Ewen, 1965) reported that, using dyads, that dissimilarity in attitudes would increase creativity but dissimilarity in abilities would decrease it. A number of studies during this period varied gender with fairly similar results—that heterogeneity would seem to increase creativity while homogeneity (e.g., all male, all female) would decrease it. However, this is not a conclusion that is supported by all other reviewers.

A third social movement collided and joined the previous two (the rise of civil rights and the decline of Anti-Semitism). Interest in changing the parochialism of American psychology, always there particularly among those who had experienced discrimination first hand either as service people or as academics, was enhanced by the increasingly availability of opportunities to study overseas. As well, the universities began to see more than the occasional foreign student. Faculty found these students an invaluable source of insight about non-American views on society and its impact on individuals. Sometimes, investigators had to go to non-American universities to find sufficiently large subject populations (e.g., Thomas, 1999).

On the nature of groups:

I have avoided defining just what is a group since few investigators have given this much interest. Nevertheless, we can use some guidelines.

Groups in organizations are complex and dynamic systems. A group is defined as a system, which consists of a “complex pattern of dynamic relations among a set of people (members) using a set of technologies to accomplish a set of purposes in common” (Arrow & McGrath, 1995, p. 376). The distinguished feature of a group is its membership.

Previous research identified certain criteria for the relationship among group members. This criteria includes five characteristics. First, individuals involved in the group consider themselves to be the member of a group (group-member relation). Second, individuals recognize each other as members (member-member relation). Third, the relationship of the group members is formed through cooperative activity with an objective of completing tasks (member-task relation). Fourth, the members of the group share a set of rules and procedures (member-technology relation). Finally, the members are interdependent in their tasks and rewards defined by their organizations (group-organization relation) (Arrow & McGrath, 1995).

Most of the definitions of group require different levels of interaction among group members (McGrath, 1984). The influence of various features of a group exercises differing effects on other group phenomena (e.g., on performance). Group cohesiveness has received a substantial amount of interest to identify the effect of these various aspects of group on different phenomena in the literature and is considered one of the possible indicators of group performance (Mullen & Cooper, 1994). Group cohesiveness was defined as “the resultant forces, which are acting on the members to stay in a group” (Festinger, 1950, p. 274).

Different components of group cohesiveness (e.g., interpersonal attraction, task commitment) are considered to have a different effect on the relationship between cohesiveness and performance. Meta-analysis of the cohesiveness-performance effect is found primarily due to commitment to the task rather than interpersonal attraction or group pride. Further, the most

direct effect might be from performance to cohesiveness rather than from cohesiveness to performance (Mullen & Cooper, 1994).

Previous research indicates that another aspect of group, namely group size, has been illustrated to affect the extent of other phenomena including the heterogeneity effect (Mullen & Hu, 1989). Diversity in groups represents opportunities and threats. If it is handled properly, heterogeneity provides a competitive advantage to the organizations (Mayo, Pastor, & Meindl, 1996; Haro, 1993). However, the intra-group conflict, miscommunication, and lack of trust might also intensify the potential losses with the new challenges heterogeneity creates (Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1994).

On the meaning of diversity:

Any analysis must begin with an attempt to define what is meant by “diversity.” Unless we can define “diversity,” we can hardly say much about “heterogeneity.” In doing so, we should consider the constituents of this phenomenon we call “group behavior.”

First, there are the characteristics of the members of the group. Those characteristics can vary along a number of dimensions some of which are observable (e.g., race, age, gender, nationality [though this latter might be problematic]) and others of which may be inferred from the observables. We may call the latter the underlying attributes. Milliken and Martins (1996) has argued that the underlying attributes are of three types: those that are based on differences in values (e.g., personality, cultural background, and socioeconomic background), those that derive from differences in skills and knowledge (e.g., educational background, industry experience, etc.) and those that that derive from the organizational cohort that the person finds him/herself part of (e.g., organizational tenure, length of time in a particular group.). Then there are the characteristics of the task (creative problem-solving, repetitive, risk taking, etc.). Further, there is the characteristic of the social setting (face-to-face or virtual) as well as the focus of the analyst (on the process—for example the cohesion of the group—or on some outcome from the interaction) and lastly, there is the outcome itself (based on some objective standard or subjective ratings from either the group members or outsiders). Therefore, heterogeneity can come about from differences along any of these dimensions.

In addition to these variables are those of context. Triandis (1995), for example has argued that we should measure or control background characteristics of the group. For example, some groups may be here due to force (i.e., slavery) or some sort of voluntary immigration (e.g., Vietnamese). He also argues that a full picture of diversity must take into account cultural distance, level of adaptation, history of intergroup relations, previous acculturations, and level of isomorphic attributions. McGrath, Berdahl, and Arrow (1995) and others have suggested that the organizational context is also an important variable; what is the task before the group, how does that task relate to others in the organization, what is the history of these particular individuals with each other and the rest of the organization, what is the history of the organization with regard to diversity, and so on. I would suggest that there are few, if any, studies that have rigorously examined these variables, important though they might be for the external validity of the theories.

There are many studies that have focused on the first (observable attributes) and the third (process aspects of the interaction). These derive their underpinning from Steiner's discussion of process loss and the anticipation that such degradation will be more prevalent in heterogeneous groups (Steiner, 1972). Examples of such studies are those investigating the effects of gender.

Several studies have dealt with mixed gender groups, arguing that females and males may exhibit quite different styles of problem solving and interacting and that such differences may have impacts on performance. Some of these studies find their rationale in analyses such as those proposed by persons interested in gender differences (e.g., Hauser et al., 1987; Macoby, 1990). Macoby has suggested, for example, that females will tend to use enabling while males tend to use constricting styles. Enabling styles are defined as "...those...that support whatever the partner is doing and tend to keep the interaction going," while constricting styles are those "...tend to derail the interaction...to inhibit the partner or cause the partner to withdraw." (Macoby, 1990, p. 517). However, in opposition to this analysis is the study of Rogelberg and Rumery (1996) who found that, using a male oriented task (the winter survival problem, Johnson & Johnson, 1987), as the ratio of males to females increased the quality of the decision (as judged by three "wilderness experts") increased. However, this effect was seemingly unrelated to either amount of time on task or the level of cohesion. Since they did not use a "female" oriented task, the study fails as a direct test of the Macoby hypothesis. Although the evidence on the effects of gender diversity is, at best, mixed, the increasing proportion of females in the work force makes further investigation mandatory.

Competition:

Another variable that has received a distressingly small amount of interest is that of competitiveness between groups (e.g., Graziano, Hair, & Finch, 1997; Pate, Watson, & Johnson, 1998). This would seem to be a variable of unique interest in an individualistic culture. We are certainly immersed in a culture of competition. Teams of all types—athletic, work-groups, even entire companies and countries—seem to spend a good part of their life comparing themselves to others, and often finding themselves wanting. Research along this line would seem to be a rather interesting test of Orwell's *bon-mot* about sports teams:

"On the village green, where you pick up sides and no feel of local patriotism is involved, it is possible to play simply for the fun and the exercise; but as soon as the question of prestige arises, as soon as you feel that you and some larger unit will be disgraced if you lose, the most savage combative instincts are aroused." (Orwell, 1947)

Opposing this rather sanguine view is that of Gordon Allport:

"Although we could not perceive our own in-groups excepting as they contrast to out-groups, still the in-groups are psychologically primary...Hostility toward the out-groups helps strengthen our sense of belonging, but it is not required...The familiar is preferred. What is alien is regarded as somehow inferior, less "good," but there is not necessarily hostility against it...Thus while a certain amount of predilection is inevitable in all in-group memberships, the reciprocal attitude toward out-groups may range widely." (Allport, 1958, p. 41; see also Brewer, 1999)

Cultural Impacts on Small Group Functioning:

In a 1991 review, Bettenhausen predicted that "...the next review of small groups research [would] find considerable work published in this area [cultural impacts]" (Bettenhausen, 1991, p. 356). Despite this prediction, there have been relatively few studies to incorporate culture as a variable. There have been a number of studies that used members of non-American groups (e.g., Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; Goto, 1997; Kirchemyer & Cohen, 1992; McLeod & Lobel, 1992; McLeod, Lobel, & Cox, 1996; Thomas, 1999; Watson, Johnson, Kuman, & Critelli, 1998; Watson & Kumar, 1992; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelson, 1993). Most of these studies used national or racial origin as a stand-in for cultural orientation. Few actually measured the cultural values in their subjects and so ran the real risk of being prey to the ecological fallacy. Indeed, those that used non-American subjects tended to accept the Hofstede categorization of the values of the participants. And, primarily they relied on the Individualism/Collectivism construct. When they did measure the values (e.g., Cox et al., 1991), the overlap was so great forcing them to fallback on criticizing the instrument rather than the research design.

A related issue is how the group members perceive the cultural values of the other individuals. In all of the cited studies, it is unclear that the members of the group perceived the heterogeneity in the first place. They might have seen the racial difference (since race is an observable characteristic) but failed to connect that marker with value differences. Alternatively, they might have perceived such attributed differences early but as the team functioned, process enhancement resulted in the distinctions being submerged. On the other hand, as Pettigrew suggested last night, they might have shifted their affective reaction, while retaining or reinterpreting the stereotype. This might be the explanation for the findings of Watson et al. (1993). Those authors found that the initial superiority of homogeneous groups disappeared by the end of four months. Germane to my point is that Watson, et al. suggest that it is important to measure diversity, not to assume it exists based only on physical markers.

Is the contact hypothesis alive and well in small groups?

Levine and Moreland (1990) concluded a review of small group research with the observation that social psychology has failed to maintain dominance in the study of small groups. They note: "The torch has been passed to...colleagues in other disciplines, particularly organizational psychology." (p.621). Marilyn Brewer echoed this assessment five years later, when she noted that:

"...the focus of social psychological experiments has been almost exclusively on the consequences of cooperative contact for intergroup studies and perceptions. In other words, the attention of social psychologists has been directed to using cooperative work teams as a technology for improving intergroup relations, regardless of the success or failure of the of the team experience itself. Consequently, *there has been little or no assessment made of the effects of group composition and structure on group process or performance.*" (Brewer, 1995, p. 63, italics added)

This may explain why almost no research has used the small group to assess the validity of the contact hypothesis—surely the foundation of much of what we do as intercultural researchers. I am not going to revisit the conditions, enabling or merely facilitating. Pettigrew did that so much better last night.

Other than the assumption that there is a common goal (purposeful pursuits) and that the people belong to a team, there has been little or no attempt to manipulate the conditions to a) produce a reduction in prejudice, b) reduce process loss, and c) increase the level of team performance. It is the latter effect that should be of most interest. In general, small group researchers assume that all five of the Allportian conditions are operating at a maximally positive level and that therefore there should be a reduction in prejudice. But, in fact, there is often little opportunity for non-task personal friendships and it is not clear that the tasks, that must often seem rather trivial, have any kind of authority sanction.

On the positive side, there is good reason to believe that, by following Allport's conditions, that prejudice can be reduced, and therefore we may expect an enhancement of team performance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2001). Though the direction of the effect is far from clear. This gives us a rationale for focusing small group research on testing the tertiary results of the contact hypothesis. By so doing, we will also wrestle this area of study, which began in social psychology, back from the organizational psychologists.

On real versus virtual groups:

The study of small groups owes much of its power to the fact that organizations increasingly rely on such groupings. They exist in companies large and small and in the military. As the traditional single task, single person, production line has fallen out of favor, the small task group has become the production method of choice. At the same time, interest is turning to the use of technology to enhance the ability of the group to meet production goals (DeSantis & Gallupe, 1987; Keisler, Siegel, & McGuire, 1984). It is hard to turn on the television today without some dot-com company or another touting its ability to move organizations into the digital age via virtual work-group connectivity. Such digital supports include e-mail, collaborative writing/editing programs, group decision support systems, real-time conferencing over video/internet networks and so on. Levine and Moreland (1990) summarized the evidence for an enhancement multiplier due to connectivity as "...there is little evidence that electronic communication improves group performance." (p. 588). Indeed, this reviewer suggests that there is good reason to suspect a degradation in performance.

On the other hand, McGrath et al. (1995) suggests that under certain task conditions (i.e., when diversity is defined in terms of expectations), there may actually be an improvement. They suggest that under this approach "...the relations are likely to be more anonymous and more impersonal in computer groups. Effects of personal and organizational dynamics will, therefore, be dampened in computer groups, as group members are likely to be less aware of variation among members on those attributes." (p.29). In other words, to use Steiner's phrase, there will be less process loss. Later we shall comment further on this hypothesis.

Beyond these considerations, virtual groups provide an ideal test bed to “unpack” culture (van de Vijver & Leung, 1977). The amount of information, cultural or otherwise, that team members could have, could be controlled, as well as the behavior of the other team members, be they real or virtual. In particular, internet technology allows us to disentangle the impact of ethnicity from cultural values and separately assess their effects on some performance variable.

What do we measure:

Most studies tend to measure two types of dependent variables: those related to the interaction or process by which the team comes to some sort of decision and/or some performance measure based on a rating schema of relative “goodness.” Occasionally, as in the use of the risky shift (e.g., Watson & Kumar, 1992), there is the use of an objective standard of performance, but this is not common. Kernan, Bruning, and Miller-Guhde (1994) used a trucking game modeled on one developed by DeNisi & Pritchard (1978) who were apparently unaware that the original technique had been developed by Silver, Jones, and Landis (1966) at least 10 years previously. In any case, these few studies are providing an approach to a metric that could be used to compare the performance of groups across conditions.

Why is the availability of a metric with good psychometric properties necessary? While it may be interesting to know the internal workings of the group (e.g., how cohesive it was or did the participants like one-another), that tells us little about the ability of group members to work together and perform well. In fact, as studies mentioned above suggest, often the internal and output variables may be weakly, if not negatively, correlated.

The outlines of a methodology:

This seems to be a good place to segue into a description of how we have been approaching the study of heterogeneous groups in our laboratory. When we first started out, we did like everybody else: we constructed live groups, set for them a problem and watched. The groups were of mixed or unmixed racial and gender composition. We videotaped the sessions and tried to figure out what was going on. Frankly, we saw a) a leader quickly emerged and though we had a task that was presumably interdependent, it really wasn't and b) the process loss or gain was so great early on that it swamped nearly everything that might tell us how these groups could come to a solution and produce a product. Faced with a huge amount of ambiguity, I remember what my old mentor said in graduate school: strip the situation down to basics and then gradually add variations. How do you do that?

We realized that a good deal of the uncertainty about the effects of diversity have been due to methodologies that, because they are macro-focused, do not permit an experimental analysis of the effects on well understood dependent variables. In other words, we may need to return to the laboratory where precise control of independent variables is possible, not just assumed. We may have stumbled on such a methodology.

Some 35 years ago, Carl Silver, Jim Jones, and I developed a metric for evaluating large-scale displays. This methodology involved setting up a number of game situations in which each move carried with it some rewards and some penalties. The perceptual input to the subject could

be varied (e.g., color, size, number of possible moves, etc.) and thereby each dimension assessed rather precisely. About 20 years ago, I wondered if this methodology could be used to assess the effect of heterogeneity, but the best I could do was to tell Ss that while they were working alone, they were also part of a group which had certain properties. The results would seem to suggest that heterogeneous “groups” could, under certain circumstances, do better than homogeneous “groups.” This use of non-existent groups was, in embryonic form, the methodology that was subsequently adopted when microcomputers made such groups much more believable.

In our current studies, Ss work in groups of 4 gender and race homogeneous groups. However, they work at computer workstations, which prevent either visual or auditory communication. They are told that their partners are students at other universities, not the persons that they came in with. All information about their partners is presented on their computer screens via a simulated web page. The task program is called Sales Call and is based on the display evaluation task created by Silver, Landis and their colleagues in the 1960s (Silver, Jones, and Landis, 1966; Landis, Slivka, and Jones, 1968; Landis, Slivka, and Silver, 1969; Landis, Slivka and Silver, 1970) described earlier. The version used in the present experiment was developed on the MAC platform and allows up to 10 players to be “on-line” at any given time.

The display consisted of 20 “cities” randomly spaced around the 15-in screen of an iMAC computer. Each city (identified by a name) has 4 items of information placed at the 1, 2, 3, 6, and 9 o'clock positions. If the S selected a city, two of the informational items added and two subtracted points to her score. Figure 1, 2, and 3 present the experimental design, the physical layout, and some screen shots of a sample “game.”

Figure 1, 2, and 3 about here (Not available at Press)

SALES CALL allowed communication between players using both Appletalk and TCP/IP protocols, which would allow play over intra-and internet networks. Play was controlled from a “host” machine. The experimenters defined the structure of each game in advance. This structure involved a set of possible paths for each game and questions to be answered by each player at predetermined points in the play. The host would start the game by positioning the cursor at a set point. Allowable paths would then appear; the first (the order of players was random and controlled by the host computer) player would select among the paths and a new set of paths would appear with play passing to the next player. (see Figure 4, 5, 6, 7) Play continues until one of three conditions occurs: a preset time is expended, a preset distance has been exceeded, or a player returns to the starting point.

Figure 4, 5, 6, and 7 about here (Not available at Press)

The program automatically records the following variables: For each move, the points obtained and the latency of the move. Over all players, the values of each move are summed to provide a “group score.” For any survey questions included in the games, a file containing those responses from each player was created. In the present experiment, 5 practice and 10 scored games were created.

Independent variable manipulation:

A colleague on another campus obtained three sets of digital photographs. One set consisted of three Caucasian females, three others of African-American females made up a second set; the last set was made up of three Asian females. These sets of photographs (plus a "blank" set as a control) provided the manipulation of the "ethnicity" variable. Pre-testing revealed that each of the members of each set were judged about equally attractive.³

The culture variable was created by two sets of four statements: one set reflected an individualistic stance, while the other reflected collectivistic values. A blank third set was added as a control. Combining all levels of these two variables produced twelve conditions. (Figures 8 and 9 show two sample "manipulation" pages)

Figure 8 and 9 about here (Not available at Press)

We also gather culture value information (e.g., individualism/collectivism), perceptions of cohesion, and likeability ratings (using the semantic differential) at set points during the game. At the end of play, we have each S allocate \$50.00 among his/her "team."

Preliminary results using only White Female Ss are quite interesting. First, when the team members were perceived to hold collectivistic values, the teams did better. At the same time, the greater the cultural distance from the S, the worse the teams did. Therefore, when the non-S team members were black, team performance suffered as it did when the members were Asian. An exception was when the Asian team members were perceived to have collectivistic values. In this case, performance was not different from an all-White team. Fig. 10 presents those data.

Figure 10 about here (Not available at Press)

Interesting, the above results were essentially uncorrelated with either move latency or reward allocation. The latter results followed rather closely the cultural distance from the respondent (Figure 11)

Figure 11 about here (Not available at Press)

We are currently expanding this study to include African-American and Asian Ss, both male and female in a multi-campus research project. The methodology allows manipulation of many task variables as well as team member characteristics and, even history.

Now recall McGrath's prediction that virtual teams would actually do better because there should be no process loss. Indeed, in the control condition, with no information, the teams did the worst of all. Why did we get these puzzling (at least to us) results. Then I remembered Allport's definition of social psychology quoted at the beginning of this paper and the phrase "real or imagined behavior of others..." Could it be that the Ss when presented with information

³ We are presently running White male Ss with sets of White, Black, and Asian male photographs and White females with male "team" members.

about the others, they imagined what the interaction would be. In other words, were they rehearsing how they might act if they were really in a face-to-face group. Perhaps human beings when faced with the task of interacting (in any fashion) create and rehearse a script and if that script involves a person that produces negative affect, they try to withdraw from the situation and invest little in performing the task. I'd like to call this "imagined process loss." Now we have not tested this concept, but we do have likeability data at three points during the game play that may provide some insight. We have also introduced as part of the pre-test, a measure of prejudice.

A summary:

Despite the best efforts of us and many other researchers, Rodriguez, in a 1998 review well states what may be the prevailing opinion:

"Relevant empirical studies present a mixed and confusing picture. Virtually every perspective regarding the impact of diversity on group processing and outputs has some empirical support. Diversity has been shown to have positive (Banaji & Prentice, 1994; Virgil, 1988) and negative (Konrad, Winter, & Gutek, 1992; Spade, 1994) influences on individual outcomes. Homogeneity has been shown to both good (Barge & Hirokawa, 1989; Barnard, Baird, Greenwalt, & Karl, 1992; O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989) and bad (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Bowser, 1988; Cooke & Szumal, 1994; Hirschhorn, 1988) for group processing and task related outcomes. Diversity has also been shown to both good (Smith & Gemmill, 1991; Tziner & Eden, 1985; Webb & Cullian, 1983) and bad (Bettenhausen & Murningham, 1985; Elmes & Gemmill, 1990; McDonald, 1993) for group processing and task-related outcomes. Researchers have concluded that individual differences are not very meaningful (Gillies & Ashman, 1995; Kern & Lundman, 1993; Mitchell, 1993), that they are meaningful (Davis & Burnstein, 1981; Driskell, Hogan, & Salas, 1988; Tuckman, 1965), and that they are meaningful only in certain contexts (Brown et al., 1992; Goodman, Ravlin, & Schminke, 1987; Maharaj & Connolly, 1994)." (p. 745).

While this is a rather disheartening assessment, the superordinate goal of understanding how diversity affects group functioning is of critical importance in modern society. In summary, I end this talk with a quote from my favorite philosopher, Bertrand Russell when he defined the function of a teacher as "...endeavor[ing] to produce in his (sic!) pupils, if democracy is to survive, is the kind of tolerance that springs from an endeavor to understand those who are different from ourselves..." (Russell, 1950, p. 121).

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Professional Leadership and Diversity in the Army¹

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Abstract

While many factors influence public perception of support for the Army, we concentrate on issues of personal diversity. Diversity refers to the degree to which members of a group or organization differ in terms of both social identities and individual characteristics. We argue that the military's relationship with society and its effectiveness are enhanced by commitment to the successful leveraging of diversity among Army leaders at all levels. We provide a general assessment of the current state of diversity in the Army, followed by recommendations designed to improve the Army's leveraging of diversity.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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Introduction

In their essay calling for a renewal and redefinition of Army professionalism, Snider and Watkins¹ highlight three indicators of the Army's deteriorating relations with its client, American society. They assert that recruiting shortfalls, a widening "gap" between the attitudes and perspectives of the military and American society (something that is subject to debate), and numerous well-publicized scandals involving the unethical behavior of some Army leaders are key indicators of increasing societal dissatisfaction with the Army. These indicators make it clear that leadership and personnel issues shape the public's perception of the Army and its members. For the Army profession, there is a reciprocal relationship between organizational effectiveness and public support for (and satisfaction with) the profession. An effective military can expect to receive a high level of support from a satisfied client. Similarly, a military with a positive, supportive relationship with society will be more effective. A volunteer military divergent from its own populace in a democratic society will face continued problems of recruitment, retention, and legitimacy. Military effectiveness is well served by an Army supported by its wider society.

While many factors influence public perception of and support for the Army, we concentrate on issues of personnel diversity. Diversity refers to the degree to which members of a group or organization differ in terms of both social identities and individual characteristics. We argue that the military's relationship with society and its effectiveness are enhanced by a commitment to the successful leveraging of diversity among Army leaders at all levels. We provide a general assessment of the current state of diversity in the Army, followed by recommendations designed to improve the Army's leveraging of diversity.

Diversity and Professional Effectiveness

As a profession, the Army competes within a system of professions for members, resources, and jurisdiction.² An important element of this competition involves professional claims within the court of public opinion to the social and cultural authority over the right to perform the work it wishes as well as the right to decide how the work is performed and by whom.³ Snider and Watkins⁴ note that the Army profession must adapt to massive changes in the "nature of the Army's professional work and in the number and diversity of professional and organizational competitors vying for jurisdiction over this work." In addition, the Army must adapt to significant changes in the composition and attitudes of American society.

As recent U.S Census figures show, the American population is now more diverse than ever. This is especially true in the labor force, where the influx of women and racial minorities represent one of the most profound changes in the American workforce in recent years.⁵ These less traditional sources of labor will soon come to constitute the majority of workers. By 2025, the labor force is expected to be 48% women and 36% minority.⁶ In addition, there is increasing diversity among the college and college-bound population. Recent research indicates that the military increasingly competes with colleges, in addition to the labor force, in recruiting enlisted personnel.⁷ The military also draws its officer corps from college graduates. The increasing diversity of both the labor force and the college-bound population means that for the Army to meet its recruitment needs, it must appeal to members of this new majority. In order to compete successfully within the system of professions, the Army must follow the lead of other professions and adapt its personnel policies to an increasingly diverse population.

Adapting its personnel policies and organizational culture to embrace and leverage diversity more fully will also help to close part of the supposed civil-military attitude “gap.” As one of the few organizations in the United States with explicit legal restrictions on the employment of women and openly gay men and lesbians, the military’s culture and policies are increasingly at odds with dominant public attitudes favoring equality. For example, research indicates that American high school students have become increasingly more egalitarian in their attitudes towards women’s roles, with significant majorities of both males and females expressing support for gender equality in the workplace.⁸ The attitudes of high school students are especially relevant to the future military, because today’s high school students represent the Army’s major recruiting pool, its future officer potential, and future civilian leaders, policy-makers, and voters. The disconnect between military policy and prevailing public attitudes contributes to a civil-military “gap” in these attitudes and hinders the Army’s ability to compete successfully with other professions for both members and for public support. As part of a commitment to a new professionalism, the Army must adapt its culture and policies to reflect more closely the egalitarian attitudes of its client. In other words, the Army must adopt and enforce policies and practices that reduce bias and discrimination and which contribute to the successful management of a diverse workforce.

Diversity is directly related to professional effectiveness as well. Arguments of degradation of military effectiveness have been used in the past to exclude members of some groups, but such arguments derive from preconceived attitudes (i.e., prejudice) and are not supported by the accumulated social scientific evidence. For example, while some argue that homogeneous groups are more cohesive and therefore more effective, there is little social science evidence to support that assertion. The social scientific evidence linking cohesion with performance is mixed and inconclusive, as is the evidence that cohesion is lower in groups composed of diverse individuals.⁹

Traditional definitions of cohesion are not specific. The general definition is that group cohesion is the social glue that results from all the forces that keep group members attached to the group.¹⁰ It is a group property. Traditional concepts of cohesion emphasized peer relationships. Relationships with those in authority were considered part of leadership, not cohesion. Attempts to measure cohesion have produced multiple definitions and have led to

distinctions among different components or types of cohesion. For example, the term horizontal cohesion has been used to refer to the peer bonding of early conceptualizations while vertical cohesion is used to refer to bonds between leaders and followers.¹¹

The latest theoretical and methodological advances make a distinction between task cohesion and social cohesion.¹² Task cohesion is the extent to which group members are able to work together to accomplish shared goals. This interdependence is the sort that Emile Durkheim¹³ conceptualized as organic solidarity based on a division of labor. (He saw mechanical solidarity, based on similarity, as less functional.) Task cohesion includes the members respect for the abilities of their fellow group members. For combat situations, it translates into the trust that group members have for each other, including faith that the group can do its job and thereby protect its members from harm. Task cohesion can be horizontal or vertical. The latter is the respect and confidence that unit members have in their leaders competence. Social cohesion is a more affective dimension and includes the degree to which members like each other as individuals and want to spend time with them off duty. Vertical social cohesion would include the extent to which unit members believe that their leaders care about them.

Why is unit cohesion important for the military? The common wisdom is that units with higher cohesion are more effective, especially in combat. The accumulated evidence shows that there is sometimes a relationship between cohesion and group effectiveness, but there are three very important qualifiers to this relationship. First, the direction of causality is not established. There is evidence that causality works in the other direction from what is usually assumed: group success that produces cohesion.¹⁴ Second, the evidence for a relationship between cohesion and group performance shows that it is task cohesion, not social cohesion that is related to success.¹⁵ Indeed, high social cohesion sometimes negatively affects performance.¹⁶ Third, there is evidence that vertical cohesion, or what we prefer to call effective leadership, affects both horizontal cohesion and performance.¹⁷ Groups in which members have confidence that their leaders are competent and care about what happens to them are more likely to be successful in various ways. Good leaders by definition organize task activities within the unit in ways that foster task effectiveness and respect and caring among group members.

Thus, even if performance is affected by cohesion (and the evidence is not clear on this), it is likely that task cohesion, not social cohesion, is important. There is no evidence showing that diversity of race, gender, or sexual orientation interferes with task cohesion.

With the increasing diversity of missions and tasks within the Army, the organization and units within it are most effective when they are composed of people with different strengths. Task cohesion and performance are based on a division of labor and the diverse capabilities of individuals within the group. Readiness and mission accomplishment are enhanced when there are people with diverse characteristics, including abilities, skills, and problem-solving styles. Diversity in these attributes is more likely when the group is composed of people from diverse social identity groups.

Retention of qualified and trained personnel has been an important problem for all the services. To retain people, the armed forces must treat them in such a way that they are satisfied

with their quality of life and their contributions to the service. If individuals perceive that the Army is not a place where they are treated professionally, then they “vote with their feet.” On the positive side, when people are treated with respect within an organization, they tend to develop loyalty and commitment to the organization.

We argue that by adopting policies and leader practices designed to manage and leverage diversity successfully, the Army will improve not only the effectiveness of the organization, but also its relations with American society. This, in turn, will enhance the Army’s ability to compete successfully within the system of professions. As the Army engages in the process of renegotiating its status and position as a profession, it must attend to an increasingly diverse and egalitarian-minded public. The effectiveness of the future Army will be enhanced by policies and practices that contribute to a public perception of the Army as a profession which successfully adapts to and leverages the talents, skills, perspectives and abilities of a diverse workforce and a diverse public client.

In applying the concepts of “managing” and “leveraging” diversity to the Navy, Thomas¹⁸ provides the following definitions (which are equally applicable to the Army):

To manage diversity is to *lead* in a manner that maximizes the ability of personnel to contribute to the Navy’s missions *Leveraging Diversity* is the linkage between diversity characteristics and force readiness. People feel that their differences make up an essential part of their worth and they feel most valued when they believe they are seen in their fullest dimensions, both as individuals and as members of their own group(s). To reach its fullest potential the Navy must capitalize on socially relevant differences and tap into the strength of all personnel, including those regarded as different.

Managing diversity should not be viewed as Equal Opportunity programs or Affirmative Action. It is “. . . not a set of programs that are intended to improve the positions of women and minorities” . . . It is concerned with “organization culture and leadership” rather than compliance.¹⁹ We view the successful leveraging of diversity as being composed of two interrelated elements: 1) the representation of diverse groups throughout an organization, and 2) the treatment of members of diverse groups by the organization and its leaders. In the next section, we provide a brief assessment of the Army’s managing and leveraging of diversity.

Assessment of the Army’s Leveraging of Diversity

In our assessment of the Army’s treatment of diversity, we concentrate on issues of the social identities of race, gender, and sexuality. This is part of a broader context where diversity includes differences among individuals in characteristics, such as mental abilities, socio-economic status, region of origin, and parental status. We cover both representation and treatment.

In many ways, the Army is widely considered to have achieved enviable results when it has diversified by integrating previously excluded groups. In particular, the Army was ahead of other social institutions in racial integration. As of 5 September 2000, 20.6% of Army officers

and 44.6% of enlisted personnel are members of all racial/ethnic minorities; 11.3% of officers and 29.2% of enlisted personnel are Black.²⁰ Some analysts hold the Army up as an example in race relations for the rest of the society to follow.²¹

While the Army's success in representation of diverse racial and ethnic groups is to be applauded, there remain areas of concern regarding racial diversity within the profession, both in representation and treatment. In the area of representation, people of color have higher concentrations among enlisted personnel than among officers. However, representation among officers has been rising over the past two decades. Analysis by rank shows that the representation of Black officers (both men and women) is higher at the major and captain levels than at the higher ranks. For enlisted personnel, the representation of Blacks (both men and women) rises from E-1 to E-6, and then declines to E-9. For Hispanic enlisted men, representation declines from E-1 to E-5, rises to E-7, and then declines to E-9. Representation of Hispanic enlisted women declines from E-1 to E-6, rises at E-7, declines at E-8, and then rises at E-9.²²

Of greater concern are issues of treatment. For example, results of personnel surveys indicate that many African American soldiers are dissatisfied with the racial climate.²³ Even high-ranking Black officers report experiences with racial discrimination.²⁴ Despite these shortcomings, the Army still appears to have a more positive race relations climate than most civilian institutions.

The Army also has made considerable progress in gender integration in the last several decades. Women's representation in the armed forces has increased substantially over the past 30 years, from approximately 2% in the early 1970s to about 15% of active duty personnel today.²⁵ Among enlisted personnel in the Army, as of 4 December 2000, women constitute 15.5% of active duty personnel, 11.6% of the Army National Guard, and 24.9% of the reserves.²⁶ Women's representation in the Army's commissioned officer corps is similar to the enlisted forces. Women comprise 15.4% of active duty officers, 10.2% of the Army National Guard, and 25.7% among reservists.²⁷ However, women continue to be significantly underrepresented in the Army relative to their representation in the civilian workforce. While we would not expect this representation to be equal, it could be higher than it is, even with the current exclusions. Moreover, women are still excluded from 8% of military occupational specialties in the Army, which constitute 30% of all active duty positions.²⁸

Analysis of women's representation by rank shows generally that, among both enlisted personnel and officers, the higher the rank, the smaller the percentage of women. Women constitute 16.4% of pay grades E-1 to E-3, 17.5% of E-4, 15.0% of E-5, 12.2% of E-6, 11.7% of E-7, 10.4% of E-8, and 6.6% of E-9.²⁹ For officers, women's representation is 19.6% of second lieutenants, 19.4% of first lieutenants, 15.5% of captains, 13.4% of majors, 12.2% of lieutenant colonels, 8.6% of colonels, 4.7% of brigadier generals, 2.1% of major generals, and 2.3% of lieutenant generals.³⁰ While it takes time for women to reach the higher ranks and women's representation at the lower ranks has been increasing over the past 20 years, women are still underrepresented at the higher ranks compared to their percentages of the earlier entry cohorts.

Statistics also show that women's representation at the higher ranks has been increasing over the years. For example, women's representation among colonels (O-6) has increased from 2.4% in 1988, to 4.0% in 1992, to 6.2% in 1996, to 8.1% in 2000.³¹ Similarly, in pay grades E-7 to E-9, women's representation has grown from 3.9% in 1988, to 7.1% in 1992, to 10.1% in 1996, to 11.0% in 2000.³²

Furthermore, percentages of female lieutenant colonels in command assignments have increased over the past few years.³³ In 1995, 10% of female lieutenant colonels (and 13% of male lieutenant colonels) were in command assignments. The figures for 1996, 1997, and 1998 were similar: 11% of women (14% of men), 13% of women (14% of men), 14% of women (14% of men), respectively. For 1999, the situation changed dramatically for both male and female lieutenant colonels, with 23% of women and 22% of men in command assignments. This bodes well for women's eligibility for promotion to colonel (O-6).

There is greater representation of African Americans among military women than their percentage of the population and even than African American men in the military. In the Army, 47% of enlisted women and 22% of women officers are Black. An extraordinary 62% of enlisted women are members of racial/ethnic minorities.³⁴ This shows the attraction that the Army has for women of color, who face the greatest obstacles to economic advancement in the civilian sector.³⁵ For example, the median income of Black women (in 1995) is only 85% of White women's – and that percentage has decreased since 1975.³⁶ Hispanic women's median income is only 76% of White women's. Black women's median income is 83% of Black men's, while Hispanic women's income is 90% of Hispanic men's.³⁷

Evidence shows that there is much room for improvement in the treatment of women in the Army (as well as the other services). Sexual harassment is a common occurrence, especially crude and offensive behavior and unwanted sexual attention.³⁸ Lower ranking women are most likely to be victims of harassment.

Even more troubling is the high frequency of gender harassment, including statements and behavior by men to women that indicate continued resistance to accepting women into the organization as legitimate participants who are worthy of respect as soldiers.³⁹ Gender harassment takes various forms, including resistance to women's authority, constant scrutiny of women, passing untrue rumors and gossip about women, sabotaging women's work, and making indirect threats.⁴⁰ Research on harassment shows that women are more likely to view sexist behavior (such as treating women differently, making offensive sexist remarks, and putting women down because of their sex) as having more effect on them than other forms of sexual harassment. When asked in a sexual harassment survey about the situation involving certain behaviors in the past 12 months that had the most effect on them, 35% of respondents cited an instance of sexist behavior.⁴¹ This was more than any other category of behaviors. However, women were less likely to label this category of behavior as "sexual harassment." This shows that the Army needs to pay as much or more attention to gender harassment as to sexual harassment. Gender harassment may negatively affect morale, which in turn may interfere with effectiveness.

Resistance to military women is sometimes voiced in terms of inequitable treatment or lowering of standards. Military men cite violations of principles of justice and of readiness goals to justify their opposition to women. This is especially apparent in complaints about the use of gender norms for physical fitness tests and the perception that the scoring is unfair.⁴² However, the evidence shows that the purpose of these tests is widely misunderstood by military personnel. Experts, both in and out of the military, say that these are intended as measures physical fitness and health, not job performance. Gender norming is required for a valid measure of physical health. Interestingly, there are few complaints about the age norming of the tests. Even the politically diverse Congressional Commission unanimously recommended that military personnel be educated about the real purpose of the tests.

Cohn's analysis shows that the protests against the gender norms on the fitness test standards show "strong feelings of loss and anger about changes in the way the organization is gendered"⁴³ and demonstrate the antipathy men have toward women in the military. Cohn maintains that even if the test requirements were the same, men would find some other "focal point" for their dissatisfaction.

Changes in civilian society in the social construction of gender have been affecting the armed forces. There has been a transformation of values, norms, and beliefs about gender that has affected every societal institution (educational, political, legal, family, economic, etc.). As one of the most predominantly male institutions – and a gender-defining one⁴⁴ – the military has been one of the last social organizations to gender integrate and adapt to this changing construction of gender. Forces of resistance to change are evident in sexual harassment and gender harassment in the military. Resistance to gender integration in the armed forces can also be seen in conservative stances with regard to military gender integration by some members of Congress and by political pressure groups, despite considerable evidence of public support for greater gender integration in the military.⁴⁵

Concerning sexuality, the military has officially excluded homosexuals from service since World War II. Gay men and lesbians have, of course, served in the military throughout its history. Enforcement of bans on the service of homosexuals has generally been lax during times of heightened labor needs, such as wartime.⁴⁶ In 1993 the U.S. Congress codified a revised anti-gay policy. This policy moved the military in the direction of seemingly greater tolerance for the presence of gay and lesbian service members - by dropping the statement that homosexuality, *per se*, is incompatible with military service and by prohibiting asking recruits and others about their sexual orientation. However, the "Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces"⁴⁷, colloquially known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell", still requires gay and lesbian service members to maintain a level of secrecy about their sexuality and personal relationships not required of heterosexual service members.⁴⁸

The secrecy requirement of current military policy makes estimating the percentage of service members who are gay or lesbian even more difficult than the already contested and difficult task of estimating the proportion of homosexuals in the larger population. We do know, however, that in 1998, 1,149 service members were discharged from the military for violating the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. This figure translates to a rate of 3 to 4 discharges per day, and represents a significant increase in the number of service members discharged for

homosexuality since the new policy was instituted in 1993. Many more thousands of gay men and lesbians are currently serving.⁴⁹

The military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" policy has been criticized on grounds of both its failure to be justifiable on the basis of evidence and its lack of proper implementation. While Army leaders are not responsible for establishing policies regarding the service of openly gay men and lesbians, they are responsible for ensuring adherence and proper implementation of the current policy at all levels.

A recent Inspector General's survey of 75,000 service members found that 80% of service members had heard derogatory anti-gay remarks during the past year, and that 37% had witnessed or experienced targeted incidents of anti-gay harassment.⁵⁰ Discipline, morale, and cohesion are compromised when harassment and derogatory remarks directed at any group of people are tolerated. Moreover, the presence of harassment and maltreatment of any group, including homosexuals, violates the trust placed in military leaders by both the American public and by those who serve.

On a positive note, the Army is recognized as providing "the best illustration of trying to do 'what's right' in its anti-gay harassment prevention efforts."⁵¹ In the past year, the Army led the other services in providing training to soldiers on preventing anti-gay harassment and on upholding the investigative limits of the current policy.⁵² Continued leadership emphasis on training and accountability is necessary for the Army to ensure that all soldiers are treated with respect, dignity, and honor. When soldiers are assured of treatment that is consistent with the Army's core values, effectiveness and readiness are enhanced, as is the Army's public image and relationship with society.

What policies and leader practices will build on and improve the Army's situation of acceptance, and leveraging of diverse personnel? We deal with this in the next section.

How Does Leadership Relate to Diversity? Promoting Effectiveness Leadership

The degree to which the organization accomplishes successful integration of previously excluded groups is a function of leadership commitment to that integration - at all levels of leadership. A substantial amount of social science research is available to indicate the kinds of policies and practices that are likely to minimize bias and discrimination, and to promote the successful leveraging of a diverse workforce. Recent scholarly work on employment discrimination suggests that accountability in decision-making, equal resource policies, open information about pay, and the construction of heterogeneous, cooperative, and interdependent workgroups are key factors which appear to minimize discrimination and bias.⁵³ As Moskos and Butler note, the fact that the Army currently employs many of these practices and policies accounts for much of the Army's success in the arena of racial integration. In addition, there is social science research to guide successful policy and individual leader behavior.

What policies and practices (including the behavior of individual leaders) will improve the Army's ability to recruit, retain, manage, and leverage a diverse workforce successfully?

Social science evidence points to at least three areas for improvement: 1) decision-making accountability, 2) recognition of effects of discriminatory policies, and 3) leader behaviors and conditions that foster respect for diversity.

Decision-making accountability

Social psychological research has consistently and conclusively shown that stereotypes and biases invariably influence our perceptions and evaluations of others.⁵⁴ Research shows that it is extremely difficult to get people to attend to individuating information rather than stereotypes in assessing others. For example, even when given information that men and women in the target population were distributed equally across college majors, subjects continued to rely more on gender stereotypes than on information about individual interests in predicting whether a target individual was an engineering or a nursing major.⁵⁵

However, the biasing effects of stereotypes on evaluative judgements have been shown to be greatly reduced when decision-makers know that they will be held accountable for the criteria they use for decision making.⁵⁶ While current Army policies and practices emphasize accountability in many career-relevant decisions, such as officer promotions and senior school selections, many career relevant decisions are made by decision-makers who are not currently held accountable for their decisions. For example, junior officers are usually assigned to career-enhancing jobs, such as company command, by battalion commanders who are not currently held formally accountable for those decisions. Given White male predominance among key Army decision-makers, unconscious in-group preferences and reliance on gender and racial biases and stereotypes are likely to lead to systematic discrimination in selection for key jobs at the junior officer level. This may be one cause of the lower representation noted earlier of women and racial and ethnic minorities in the higher ranks, including among officers.

Research shows, however, that the effects of these tendencies are reduced when decision-makers know they will be held accountable for their decisions. We recommend that the Army develop programs that hold decision-makers at *all* levels responsible for ensuring that their decisions are not tainted by in-group preferences. Decision-makers should also be held accountable for the outcomes of their decisions in terms of representation of women and minorities selected for career-enhancing jobs, training, and school assignments. This accountability need not be implemented through rigid, restrictive, and bureaucratic policies. For example, decision-making accountability can be accomplished through educating leaders on the effects of unconscious stereotyping and bias, and through the establishment of decision-making procedures such as selection boards for all levels of career relevant decisions. Including others in decisions such as company command selection will not only provide accountability but will also increase the effectiveness of the decision-making process by allowing input from other informed leaders.

Recognition of effects of discriminatory policies

Research shows that when valued rewards are distributed among people working together in a goal-oriented context, individuals will implicitly assume that those with greater rewards are more competent than those with less.⁵⁷ The exclusion of women from units and military

occupational specialties most closely associated with the Army's core combat mission systematically denies women access to organizationally valued positions. One expected consequence of this is that members of the Army come to believe that women are less valued and less competent members of the organization. In this way, the Army's combat exclusion policies not only contribute to the growing civil-military values "gap," but also contribute to gender integration difficulties within the Army.

In a similar way, military policy regarding homosexuality systematically denies gay and lesbian service members access to organizationally valued resources. For example, under current policy gay and lesbian service members are denied support for their personal and family relationships. Research has consistently shown that policies and practices that are perceived as supportive of military members' personal and family relationships have positive effects on job satisfaction and retention.⁵⁸

The military's combat exclusion policy and anti-gay policy both systematically discriminate against specific groups of service members by denying them access to valued resources. Moreover, an expected consequence of these policies is that they encourage or reinforce expectations of lower competence and worth for members of the excluded groups. When policies treat certain groups in a discriminatory manner, organizational participants are likely to treat members of those groups in a discriminatory manner as well. For these reasons, the successful leveraging of diversity is hindered by the military's exclusionary policies regarding the full participation of gay men and all women.

What can Army leaders do to counter the effects of policies that require differential treatment of some service members? First, Army leaders need to be educated on the potential negative effects of discriminatory policies on the attitudes and perceptions of all service members. In order to mitigate the effects of such policies, Army leaders must aggressively seek to eliminate formal statements and informal banter within their units that reflect a devaluing of the contributions of any particular group of soldiers. Army leaders should consistently emphasize the value of all soldiers, regardless of social characteristics such as race, gender, and sexuality. In addition, Army leaders must communicate to their subordinates that the Army needs and values the contributions of all military specialties and units, not just those with combat designations. This will reduce the negative effects of the military's discriminatory policies on both Army morale and readiness and on public perceptions of the Army.

Individual leader behaviors

At the interpersonal level, leaders behavior has been demonstrated to have strong effects on the treatment of diversity characteristics within military units. Leaders serve as role models for personnel in their units: military personnel often model their behavior toward others on the basis of the behavior of their leaders. Further, the degree to which leaders enforce non-discriminatory behavioral guidelines affects the likelihood of such behavior occurring and recurring.

We know a great deal about the conditions that affect the success of managing diversity in groups. Much of the early theory and research was based on the "contact hypothesis",

originally developed with regard to racial relations and adapted to integration of other previously excluded groups.⁵⁹ Both the early research and later studies demonstrate that the process of integrating members of previously excluded groups into organizations and groups within organizations generally do not proceed smoothly. Integration problems in the military and other social institutions tend to occur with various social characteristics, including race, ethnicity, and gender.

Early phases of integration are often characterized by negative attitudes toward the members of the newly admitted group. Such negative attitudes are usually accompanied by behaviors involving discrimination against the new group. Among the negative behaviors that occur are social isolation and harassment of the new members. Breaking with tradition is hard and there are always sources of resistance to change in any institution. Resistance to change is great when there is long experience with, and/or identification with, the old ways of doing things. Part of men's resistance to women in previously all-male roles, especially those that have served as rites of passage to manhood, is the difficulty in proving masculinity if a woman can also accomplish the challenge. Military men may also retain definitions of their roles as masculine by accepting individual women as exceptions - by disconnecting perceptions of an individual woman's success from their conceptions of "women" in general.

However, research also shows us the conditions that tend to foster integration that is more effective.⁶⁰ More positive attitudes tend to develop under the following conditions:

- when interaction is sufficiently close and sustained so that the members of the majority group have the opportunity to get to know the individual members of the minority group well;
- when the minority group members are of at least equal status to the majority group members;
- when the minority group members constitute more than a small (token) minority of the work group;
- when there are commonly shared goals;
- when the situation is one that fosters cooperation rather than competition among members of the group;
- when the social norms support equality and integration;
- when those in positions of authority support the integration.

This last condition is very important. It is also amenable to control in the military services: integration of diverse members proceeds most smoothly and with the fewest problems if leaders are committed to making integration work and communicates that commitment. The greater the degree of public commitment expressed by leaders at each organizational level, the

more successful will be the leveraging of diversity be - and the more effective the military units will be.

In addition to voiced commitment to diversity, leaders are role models for their subordinates. Soldiers observe their leaders' behaviors and those actions often speak louder than their words. When leaders show in their behaviors on a day-to-day basis that they respect soldiers with diverse characteristics, this value is transmitted to their troops (both officers and enlisted personnel). These behaviors include the quality of their interactions with service members with diverse characteristics as well as what they say about members of identifiable groups. For example, the positive effects of sexual harassment workshops or leaders' statements about commitment to diversity are negated if the same leaders treat women or members of other diverse groups without respect or tell sexist or racist jokes (and the effects are negative whether or not the members of the derogated groups are present).

Another area in which the Army has room for improvement involves creating situations which foster cooperation among diverse members of groups rather than competition. Current Army policy and culture encourages individual competition in many settings, despite official endorsement of cooperation. Emphasis on individual rankings at Officer Basic and Advanced Courses, and at the United States Military Academy are examples of settings in which diverse individuals are placed in direct competition with one another. Social psychological research shows that competition highlights differences and encourages stereotyping.⁶¹ We recommend that the Army eliminate unnecessary competition in its professional training environments, and develop training programs that truly require cooperation among diverse individuals.

We recommend that leaders at all levels be educated about the way their behaviors affect respect for diversity among their subordinates (and their peers). Of course, we expect that they will want to act in ways that have positive effects on leveraging and managing diversity. We also recommend that leaders be held accountable for the degree to which their behavior contributes to respect for diversity.

Conclusion

We have analyzed the ways in which diversity contributes to the Army's core value of respect, to military professionalism, and to military effectiveness. Our assessment of the Army's representation of diversity shows increasing representation in the recent past of members of racial and ethnic minorities – both men and women. Women's representation has increased, especially among women of color. Women are more concentrated in the lower ranks, but their representation in the higher ranks has been increasing. While people of color perceive a need for improvement in their treatment, the Army racial climate appears better than many civilian institutions. The treatment of women has been improving, but still requires attention to eliminating sexual harassment and gender harassment. Gay men and lesbians are precluded from serving openly, but private sexual orientation is by policy not to be a characteristic of attention or harassment; appropriate education about policy is needed at all levels, as is enforcement of anti-harassment policy. Much social science knowledge exists that can be applied to assisting Army leaders in improving the leveraging of diversity to enhance personnel retention, mission readiness, and military effectiveness. Improvement will come from accountability in decision-making, recognizing effects of differential treatment, promoting equitable treatment, educating

leaders in the effects of their behaviors, providing them with positive models, and holding them accountable for their behaviors with regard to diverse personnel. Following these recommendations will enhance the Army's core values and its mission effectiveness.

Recommendation

1. We recommend that the Army develop programs that hold decision-makers at *all* levels responsible for ensuring that their decisions are not tainted by in-group preferences. Decision-makers should also be held accountable for the outcomes of their decisions in terms of representation of women and minorities selected for career-enhancing jobs, training, and school assignments.
2. We recommend that the Army eliminate unnecessary competition in its professional training environments, and develop training programs that truly require cooperation among diverse individuals.
3. We recommend that leaders at all levels be educated about the way their behaviors affect respect for diversity among their subordinates (and their peers). We also recommend that leaders be held accountable for the degree to which their behavior contributes to respect for diversity.

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**EO Fairness Effects on Job Satisfaction,
Organizational Commitment,
and Perceived Work Group Effectiveness:
Does Race or Gender Make a Difference?**

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Abstract

A theoretical model investigated by McIntyre, Bartle, Landis, and Dansby (2001) indicated that equal opportunity fairness (EOF) attitudes have significant impact on perceived work group effectiveness, job satisfaction, and, ultimately, organizational commitment. This model was developed and examined with heterogeneous military samples of 5,000 by means of structural equation modeling (SEM). The purpose of the present study is to determine the degree to which the McIntyre et al., model is consistent (invariant) across four large sociocultural groups within the military: enlisted African-American and Caucasian men and women. Four pairs of samples consisting of 5,000 observations each were examined through SEM multiple-group analyses. Technically, results indicated that the model was noninvariant (i.e. inconsistent) across the four groups. However, through a series of post hoc analyses, it became evident that for practical purposes, the model can be considered invariant. Discussion focused on the contrast of the technical versus practical results and recommendations for future research. In addition, a practical flow diagram is presented as a summary of how the results of the theoretical model can be used as a tool in organizational development and training interventions in the context of EOF problems.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense

EO Fairness Effects on Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Perceived Work Group Effectiveness: Does Race or Gender Make a Difference?

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The present study extends research on equal opportunity fairness (EOF) carried out by McIntyre, Bartle, Landis, and Dansby (2001). The concept of EOF is grounded in equity theory (Adams, 1963; Cohen, 1987; Greenberg, 1990) and refers to organization members' perceptions of fair treatment of individuals coming from different sociocultural backgrounds. Within United States military organizations, it is expected that all individuals have equal opportunity to earn the various rewards and outputs provided by the organization. Further, every individual military member has equal rights to respect from other organization members, to participate in social gatherings without discomfort, and to exist as fully-fledged members of the organization. In sum, EOF pertains to organizational members' perceptions that all individuals—without regard to their race, creed, national origin, religion, age, or gender—have access to (a) equitable distribution of rewards such as pay and promotion, (b) equitable distribution of treatments such as special assignments and training, and (c) agreeable social conditions.

What effects do perceptions of fairness have on other attitudes held by organizational members? McIntyre et al., (2001) attempted to address this question through structural equation modeling (SEM) by examining the causal linkages between EOF, perceived work group effectiveness (PWGE), job satisfaction (JS), and organizational commitment (OC). EOF was broken down into two facets: work group equal opportunity fairness (WGEOF) and organizational equal opportunity fairness (OEOF). WGEOF pertains primarily to perceptions of supervisors' treatment of workers perceived within the work group. OEOF pertains to the perceptions of treatment by the organization as a whole.

Background of the McIntyre et al., (2001) Study

In carrying out their study, McIntyre et al., (2001) sampled from a data base that contains the responses to the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) of more than one million participants within the military. One can think of this study as containing two exogenous (input) variables—OEOF and WGEOF—and three endogenous (outcome) variables—PWGE, JS, and OC. The three endogenous variables are defined as formally labeled and reported scales of the MEOCS. JS refers to how military members feel about the military workplace. PWGE refers to the degree to which organizational members perceive their primary work group as

productive and effective in accomplishing its mission. OC is a more enduring attitude than JS and refers to the degree to which a respondent identifies with a particular organization.

The two independent (exogenous) variables were formed by McIntyre et al., (2001) in the first phase of their study. To this end, the researchers examined the MEOCS items' content and culled a sample that logically sorted into two groups pertaining to the fairness perceptions of the organization as a whole and work-group fairness perceptions (mostly dealing with supervisory treatment). A confirmatory factor analysis supported the tenability of the five constructs in a separate sample prior to the causal modeling phase. (See McIntyre et al., 2001.)

In the structural-modeling phase of the study in which the theoretical causal model was tested for viability, the researchers drew two random samples consisting of 5,000 observations. The use of relatively large samples (i.e., $N=5,000$) provided the basis for highly accurate estimates of the hypothesized effects by means of structural equation modeling. The use of two samples provided the basis for replicating the results.

Figure 1 provides a graphic representation of the model proposed and analyzed by McIntyre et al. (2001). Overall, the model was found to have superior statistical fit (Non-normed Fit Index (NNFI) equaled .96, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) equaled .96, and Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA) equaled .029). To ensure that the hypothesized model provided a theoretically and practically useful summary of the relationships among the constructs, it was compared with alternative models. One alternative was considered the “logically next most constrained model.” It contained fewer paths and therefore was more parsimonious. The other was considered the “logically next most unconstrained model,” containing a greater number of paths. It was less parsimonious. In these comparisons, fit statistics plus crossvalidation indices supported the hypothesized model described in Figure 1. In other words, the model as a whole was a very good representation of the data.

The causal paths. In Figure 1, for each path, four values are given. The first value is the standardized structural (path) coefficient. The second value appearing in braces is the unstandardized structural coefficient. The third value in parentheses is the standard error of the unstandardized structural coefficient. The t -value listed is the ratio of the unstandardized coefficient to its standard error. It can be interpreted as a standard normal Z value. Under the latter interpretation, all coefficients are statistically significant, suggesting that every hypothesized effect in Figure 1 was supported.

The causal paths can be broken into four levels of magnitude—High, Moderate, Low, and Negligible. The paths in the “High” category (based on the standardized coefficients) are $OEOF \rightarrow WGEOF$ (.84), $JS \rightarrow OC$ (.72), and $PWGE \rightarrow JS$ (.61). Of these three paths, the most notable is $PWGE \rightarrow JS$ given that it has not been specifically discussed in the literature. In contrast, the $JS \rightarrow OC$ path has been discussed many times (See Mathieu, e.g.). Further, since perception of fairness might be the underlying component linking $OEOF$ to $WGEOF$, it is not surprising that these two variables are so strongly linked.

There was one path in the “Moderate” category—WGEOF→PWGE (.36). This is interesting because it speaks to two issues. First, under the assumption that PWGE is analogous to self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982), we might hypothesize that workgroup (team) performance will vary as a function of PWGE. (Of course, before hypothesizing such an effect, it would be necessary to determine whether the PWGE attitudes are shared among group members.) Second, the WGEOF→PWGE path provides a deeper understanding of the antecedent conditions of JS...that it is indirectly affected by WGEOF through PWGE as well as directly affected.

There were two paths in the “Low” category—WGEOF→OC (.11) and WGEOF→JS (.13). The strength of these paths is not high. However, they point to the possible erosive effects of work group EO unfairness on two important outcome variables, OC and JS.

Finally, one path—PWGE→OC (.04)—was so low as to be placed in the “Negligible” category. Given the large sample sizes in the McIntyre et al., study, it seems reasonable to accept the conclusion (as opposed to failing to reject its converse) that PWGE does not have much impact on OC. Perhaps this is due to the fact that OC has to do with the organization as a whole while PWGE has to do with the immediate work group.

What do these results tell us? Overall, one can safely conclude that fairness attitudes and feelings have impact on important outcome variables. EOF can be viewed as having a sort of chain reaction. These attitudes begin at a distal level and proceed to wend their way through perceptions of how the work group (including the supervisor) performs (PWGE), morale (JS), and dedication to the organization (OC). It is possible that the model presented in Figure 1 might serve as the basis of a template for resolving JS and OC problems within the military command. Along with the literature that supports this model, the informed military command has a variety of “leverage points” with which to improve the function of the unit. Yet, there is a question as to the generalizability of the model to all groups comprising the military. The purpose of the present study is to examine the generalizability to four large sociocultural groups within the military—African-American and Caucasian enlisted men and women.

Generalizability of the McIntyre et al., Model

There are at least two reasons for examining the generalizability of the results of the McIntyre et al., (2001) model (hence forth referred to as the target model). The first seems to be best referred to as “natural” because certain sociocultural groups have suffered inequity and prejudice in society, one naturally questions the generalizability of any study pertaining to EO-related phenomena. The second reason is (or should be) based in theory and published literature. In particular, one must examine theory and published studies that justify an examination of the invariance in the relationships (or causal links) among constructs. There are many studies that discuss mean differences between sociocultural groups on JS, perceptions of fairness, and so on. There are fewer that speak to the issue of difference in causal links across different groups.

Studies by Lefkowitz (1994) and Smith, Smits, and Hoy (1998) indicate that men and women may prefer different work environments. While men lean toward an achievement-oriented climate, women prefer a more affiliative one. It is possible then that PWGE may be

construed differently by men and women. If this is the case, relationships between it and other variables such as WGEOF and JS may be notably different.

Russ and McNeilly (1995), in a study of sales representatives within a publishing firm, posited that OC measures may fail to capture the strength of women's commitment to social relationships within the organization. Their argument implied that the factors with causal influence on OC may be different or have different levels of influence for men and women. This possibility leads to the question of whether the JS→OC link is similarly strong for men and women. It also suggests that the WGEOF→OC path may be stronger for women if WGEOF is viewed as an indicator of social value and social relationship health for women.

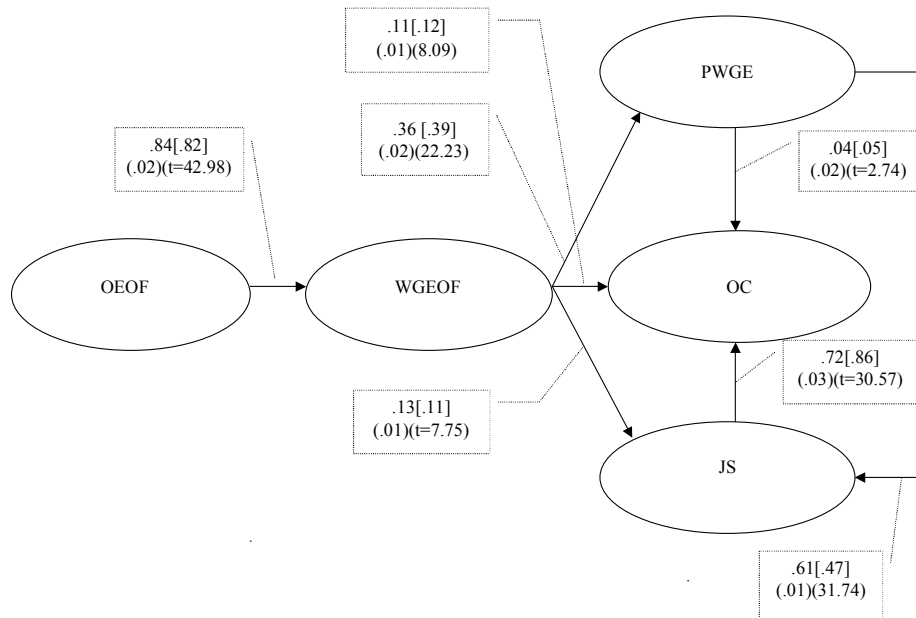
The results of a study by Rosen, Durand, Bliese, Halverson, Rothberg, and Harrison (1996) of Army combat support units provide rationale for suspecting that gender moderates the relationship between perceived fairness and PWGE and JS. Among junior enlisted men in gender-integrated units, acceptance of women (germane to WGEOF in the present study) correlated with combat readiness, vertical unit cohesion (akin to PWGE), and general well-being (akin to JS). Support for similar relationships was not found for junior enlisted women, suggesting potentially different causal paths between WGEOF, JS, and PWGE for men and women.

Next, Mellor, Barnes-Farrell, and Stanton (1999) studied levels of union participation in relation to perceived union effectiveness in promoting fairness. The premise of the study was that promoting fair treatment of union members is an essential union function and to the extent that a union promotes fairness, the union is effective. These researchers found a relationship between levels of union member participation in union activities and perceived union effectiveness in promoting fairness. They also found this relationship to be moderated jointly by gender and ethnicity. These findings provide one more piece of evidence for examining the generalizability of the target model, particularly with regard to the strength of the WGEOF→PWGE path.

A final rationale for investigating the generalizability of the target model across racial and gender groups comes from an examination of the distributions of ethnic groups. McIntyre (1998) found significant variance differences in Black versus White groups on eight of twelve MEOCS scales. Among these scales were OC, PWGE, and scales pertaining to EOF and racism-sexism. From a purely statistical perspective, these differences suggest the possibility of differences in causal links across the different ethnic groups.

The goal of the study can be presented as a question: Is the target model generalizable or invariant across four large sociocultural groups—African-American and Caucasian enlisted men and women within the military?

Figure 1. The Causal Effects of OEOF and WGEOF on PWGE, OC, and JS (McIntyre et al., 2001)



Method

Participants

At the time of this writing, the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey data base contained more than 1,100,000 observations. Prior to sampling, I eliminated from the data base cases that contained missing information on gender, race, and the items comprising the scales. Thereafter, I randomly selected two samples each from the following four groups: enlisted African-American men and women and enlisted Caucasian men and women. Each group contained a pair of samples with a sample size of 5,000 observations in each of the pairs.

Measurement of Variables

The MEOCS was originally developed at DEOMI to measure the perceptions of EO in the military (Dansby & Landis, 1991; Landis, Fisher, & Dansby, 1988; Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993). The entire survey (Version 2.3) consisted of 124 questions and can be obtained by contacting the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute, Patrick Air Force Base, Florida. For a list of items used in the present study, see Appendix 1.

For the current study, the same latent variables were examined as those in the McIntyre et al. (2001) study. In that study, the authors examined the content of individual items making up the survey and selected 21 that appeared to tap organizational and workgroup fairness. Thirteen

of these items came from the first section of the survey and logically pertained to WGEOF. The remaining eight items logically pertained to OEOF.

Three measures of organizational functioning developed by Short (1985) were used as outcome variables for the present study: OC, PWGE, and JS.

Analytic Strategy

A two-step structural equation modeling (SEM) strategy was followed in this study. In order to avoid duplication of information, many of the details for the analytic procedures appear in the Results section along with the results themselves. Suffice it to say that in the first step, the measurement model (underlying the target structural model— M_t) was tested for its invariance across the four groups. For each latent variable, parcels (small groups) of items were created in the same manner used by McIntyre et al., (2001). These parcels were treated as the indicators of the latent variables. The maximum likelihood method was used in all measurement model analyses. An “X-side analysis” was used. (See Byrne (1998).)

In a series on nested measurement model analyses, I examined whether the latent variable (i.e., factor) form, the loadings of the indicators on the factors (Λ_x), the variance and covariance among the factors (Φ), and variance of the observed variables’ errors (Θ_δ) were consistent across the four sociocultural groups. As will be described in the Results, a specific level of measurement model invariance must be established prior to examining structural invariance (that is, the generalizability of the target model across the groups).

In the second step, the target causal model was tested for structural invariance. All analyses for structural invariance were carried out “from the Y side.” See Hayduk (1987) or Byrne (1998) for a discussion of this. Given that at this point in the analyses, the measurement models for the four groups would be shown to be invariant, a single indicator approach was used to examine the invariance of the structural model. In other words, the means of the items comprising a scale were used as the indicator for that latent variable. The following matrices were computed through LISREL 8.3: **B** (Beta—the matrix of hypothesized structural coefficients, and **Ψ** (Psi—the diagonal matrix containing the variances of the latent variables). The loadings matrix (Λ_y) and the variance of the errors of the indicator variables (Θ_ϵ) were set a priori and did not have to be estimated. It should be noted that values of **B** are sometimes referred to as structural coefficients or path coefficients. In the text, I have used the terminology “ $X \rightarrow Y$ ” to represent a particular causal path between causal variable X and outcome variable Y. Once again, results from a series of nested models were compared to determine the effect of requiring that all structural coefficients (path coefficients) be held equal. To determine the degree of stability of parameter estimates, two samples each containing 5,000 observations were drawn providing for replication of results.

Large Sample Size Problems in SEM

A sample size of 5,000 is considered large in the (SEM) literature. I chose to use such a sample size for two primary reasons. First, large sample sizes lead to extremely accurate

estimates of all parameters. Second, McIntyre et al., (2001)—from which the current study flows—used sample sizes of 5,000. In SEM, however, large sample sizes create certain challenges.

Sensitivity of χ^2 tests. Hayduk (1987) indicates that with very large samples, even minor deviations in fit lead to significant χ^2 values. Fit is defined as the difference between the actual covariance matrix and the model-implied covariance matrix. Jöreskog (1969, in Hayduk, 1987) suggested expressing χ^2 relative to degrees of freedom (df), implying that the value of χ^2/df is a more appropriate index of fit than χ^2 with extremely large sample sizes. Some researchers have recommended that a χ^2 value that is five times df indicates a poor fit. Others have recommended a more conservative value (three times χ^2) is more appropriate. Hoelter (1983) provides a formula for estimating what he labels the critical sample size (N). This critical N represents the size of the sample that would be required to make the observed lack of fit just statistically significant at a standard alpha level. Hoelter found that critical-Ns of 200 or more are reasonable. Hayduk explains that the same decision offered by the critical N statistic can be gained by rerunning all large-sample analyses by editing the syntax to indicate a sample size of 200. A more conservative variation of Hayduk's recommendation is to rerun large-sample analyses after setting the sample size to 500. This approach was followed in a number of points during this study.

Size of the sample and measurement model equivalence. Little (1997) deals with sample size and analysis of the measurement model per se separately from other examinations (such as structural model equivalence). He recommends that the analyst use the practical fit measures such as non-normed fit index (NNFI), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) instead of differences in χ^2 as an appropriate tool for judging the equivalence of a measurement model across different samples.

Results

Measurement Model

Table 1 contains the results of the analyses of measurement and construct equivalence. The analyses labeled "Equivalent Factor Form" (1) and "Equivalent Lambda" (2) are most important because these are the necessary conditions for investigating the invariance of causal structure (Byrne, 1998). As described in the Methods section, the analyses summarized in Table 1 were carried out with large sample sizes.

In accord with Little's (1997) suggestions, practical-fit indices were examined to establish measurement equivalence. Analyses 1 and 2 basically examine whether the form of the factors (number of factors with associated indicators) and the values of the factor loadings (Λ_x) are similar. The practical-fit indices associated with analyses 1 and 2 indicate that the measurement model provides an excellent fit to the data (NNFI = 1.0, CFI = 1.0, and RMSEA = .025) leading to the conclusion that measurement equivalence exists across the four groups. Analyses 3 and 4 respectively examine two more conditions: the equivalence of the covariance among the latent

constructs and the equivalence of variance and covariance of the latent constructs. Practical fit indices presented in Table 1 indicate that it is reasonable that these conditions hold, although the $\Delta\chi^2$ values suggest that the conditions do not hold. To understand the effect of the large sample size, I followed a suggestion presented by Hayduk and reran the analyses in LISREL 8.3 with identical syntax except for the sample size, which was set to 500. The $\Delta\chi^2$ values are considerably smaller in this condition and indicate that the latter two conditions hold. Analysis 5 (labeled "Equivalent Λ , Φ , and Θ_δ ") examines whether a final constraint can be applied across the samples...that the error variances of each of the indicators of the latent constructs are equivalent. Once again, the $\Delta\chi^2$ is significant and fairly large. The NNFI and CFI values fall within the usual acceptable range. However, the RMSEA value is very close to the usual poor fit cutoff. This suggests that the final constraint examined in this analysis is not tenable. It should be understood, however, that several authors (e.g., Kline, 1998) have indicated that requiring the error variances associated with the indicator variables to be equivalent is inordinately stringent. Most researchers do not require this condition to conclude that there is measurement invariance.

Structural Invariance

Recall that two random samples were drawn from the population. These pairs were broken into two sets. The first set of samples was used for all model-fitting procedures. The second set was used to replicate the final findings.

Table 2 contains the χ^2 and practical fit indices for M_1 for the four groups (first set of samples). Values of χ^2 values are statistically significant which with small samples would indicate poor fitting models. All practical fit indices are close to optimal levels. Once again, the hypersensitivity of χ^2 with large samples makes the interpretation of findings in this phase challenging. In accord with recommendations presented by Hayduk for understanding the effect of large sample size, I again reran the analyses with the identical LISREL syntax with the exception that the sample size for each analysis was set at 500 (Hayduk, 1987). In these new analyses, the approximate values of χ^2 were consistently **10%** of the values appearing in Table 2, with probability values exceeding the standard .05 level. In other words, with smaller yet extremely reasonable sample sizes, the fit of the models within each sample was excellent.

Table 3 contains the values of the standardized path coefficients (β s) for each of the four groups. (Note that these standardized path coefficients indicate that the PWGE→OC path was not very strong in any group and nonsignificant in three of the four groups). Based on this finding, the model was reestimated after deleting the weak path. Although reestimation based on findings within a sample is usually criticized because it involves "data snooping," it is allowable in these circumstances because all analyses are replicated with different random samples of equal size.

Table 4 contains the fit statistics for the re-estimated model (without the PWGE→OC path) in Sample 1.

Table 5 contains the path coefficients in the revised theoretical model for the first of the pairs of samples for all groups. Values of all path coefficients are extremely similar to those found prior to the re-estimation.

Table 6 contains the fit statistics for the revised model for the second of the pairs of samples for all groups. Table 7 contains the path coefficients (betas) for the second of the pairs of samples for all groups. Results from the analysis of the second pair of random samples indicate extremely similar results across random sample pairs. This suggests high stability of the solutions.

Analysis of Structural Invariance

In order to determine whether the causal models as a whole are invariant across the four groups, several preparatory analyses were required. First, for each of the pairs of random samples, a multi-group (four-group) analysis was carried out in which the structural coefficients were constrained to be equal across the four groups. Second, a four-group analysis was carried out in which the structural coefficients were estimated freely within each group. In effect, these analyses represent nested models in the sense that the second is nested in the first. This provided the statistical basis for testing whether constraining the structural (path) coefficients to be equal in all groups results in a less well fitting model than if they had been freely estimated within each group. The third step in the assessment of structural invariance involves computing $\Delta\chi^2$ —the difference between the χ^2 associated with the subsuming model and that for the nested model.

The first four rows of Table 8 present the χ^2 and the $\Delta\chi^2$ values for both samples, along with the practical fit indices associated with all models. The $\Delta\chi^2$ values are statistically significant beyond traditional levels of Type I error rate. This suggests that there are differences among the four groups on some of the causal paths. When the sample size was reduced to 500, the $\Delta\chi^2$ values were still statistically significant at the .01 level. On the other hand, the practical fit indices suggest that the fact that there are differences seems not to lead to obviously poor fitting models.

The next set of analyses reported in Table 8 (rows five through eight) represent the results of what might be called partially constrained models. A technique for identifying which groups are relatively dissimilar is described in Appendix 2. The following rank ordering of average dissimilarity was found (from most dissimilar to least dissimilar): Caucasian men, African-American women, African-American men, and Caucasian women. With this information, partially constrained models were analyzed.

In the first partially constrained model, the path coefficients for the Caucasian men were freely estimated while the remaining groups' coefficients were constrained to be equal. This partially constrained model was compared with the model in which all paths were freely estimated for all groups. The result of this comparison was a statistically significant $\Delta\chi^2$ value (that is the difference between the χ^2 of the free model and χ^2 of the partially constrained model) ($\Delta\chi^2(6) = 185.42, p < .0000001$). (Similar results were computed for the second of the pairs of

samples—see Table 8.) However, after specifying a sample size of 500, the $\Delta\chi^2$ value dropped to a nonsignificant level. This, along with the superior values of the practical fit indices, suggests that the Caucasian male group (in both samples) sample contributed most to non-invariance of the model. By allowing free estimation of **B** with this group alone, there seems to be a reasonable fit. It was unnecessary to compare other partially constrained models thereafter given that the Caucasian male sample seems to account for the primary lack of fit.

I also attempted to determine whether the non-invariance may have been attributable to certain causal paths as an alternative to certain groups. To accomplish this goal, the standard deviations (SD) of each of the estimated values of **B** across the four groups were examined. The corresponding paths were rank ordered in terms of standard deviations from lowest SD value to highest as follows: PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC, WGEOF→PWGE, and JS→OC. In other words, the value of an estimated **B** with the most similarity was PWGE→JS while that with the least similar value was JS→OC.

A series of analyses was carried out in which the paths with the smallest SD value were successively entered into the model as constrained to be equal. The $\Delta\chi^2$ values were computed representing the difference between the constrained model and the freely estimated model. If a $\Delta\chi^2$ value is statistically significant, then one can conclude that by constraining the corresponding **B** values to be equal resulted in a significant decrement in fit in the multiple group analyses. Results are presented in Tables 9 and 10 (for Samples 1 and 2, respectively). Once again, the sample size created a challenge for interpretation. Therefore, parallel analyses were carried out in which the sample sizes were reduced to N=500. By doing this, it appeared as there were two paths that created the greatest degree of noninvariance across the four groups: WGEOF→PWGE and JS→OC. Before constraining these two paths to be equal across the four groups, with sample size set to 500, the $\Delta\chi^2$ were not significant.

A final analysis was carried out to determine the degree of agreement in the estimated values in **B**. This involved computing the mean value of each estimated path coefficient across the pair of samples for each group. Kendall's concordance ratio (W) with 5 df equaled .879, $p < .004$. This suggests fairly strong agreement in the rank- ordering of the values of the path coefficients for all groups.

Figure 2 presents the overall model from the first of the pairs of samples. Structural coefficients are the mean of the standardized values across the four groups. From a practical perspective, given the concordance among the groups on the standardized structural coefficients, this depiction is a useful one.

Figure 2. Final Model with Mean Standardized Path Coefficients (Sample 1)

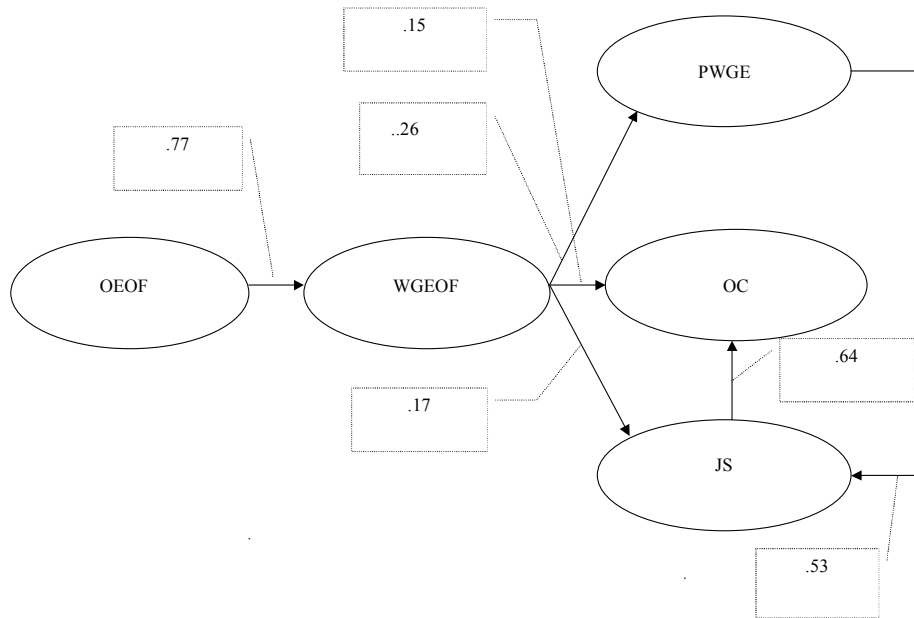


Table 1

Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Measurement Model: Overall Invariance Across All Groups on Parcels

Measurement model	Chi-square Statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices			Difference Statistics	
	df	χ^2	p<	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	df	$\Delta\chi^2$
(1) Equivalent Factor Form	72	292.19	.00	1.0	1.0	.025	--	--
(2) Equivalent Λ	84	335.56	.00	1.0	1.0	.024	12	43.37*
(3) Equivalent Λ and Covariances of Latent Constructs	114	1273.19	.00	.98	.99	.045	30	937.63*
(4) Equivalent Λ and Variances and Covariances of Latent Constructs (Φ)	129	1561.35	.00	.98	.98	.047	15	243.16*
(5) Equivalent Λ , Φ , and Θ_δ	153	2995.26	.00	.97	.97	.060	24	1433.91*

Note. NNFI = Nonnormed fit index, CFI = Comparative fit index, and RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation; *= $p < .00001$

Table 2

M_t : Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Individual Groups (Sample 1)

	Chi-square Statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices		
	df	χ^2	p<	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA
African-American Men	3	35.43	0.00	.98	.99	0.047
White Men	3	77.45	0.00	.96	.99	0.071
African-American Women	3	53.38	0.00	.97	.99	0.058
White Women	3	34.07	0.00	.98	.99	0.046

Note. NNFI = Non-normed fit index, CFI = Comparative fit index, and RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation.

Table 3

Standardized Path Coefficients (Betas) for each Group for M_t (Sample 1)

Causal Paths	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
OEOF → WGEOF	.81	.78	.69	.77
WGEOF → PWGE	.22	.20	.34	.29
WGEOF → OC	.18	.22	.09	.12
WGEOF → JS	.22	.19	.11	.18
PWGE → OC	.02	.04	.01	.03
PWGE → JS	.57	.52	.53	.68
JS → OC	.56	.56	.73	.49

Table 4

 M_t : Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Revised Model for Individual Groups (Sample 1)

	Chi-square Statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices		
	df	χ^2	$p <$	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA
African-American Men	3	36.46	0.00	.99	.99	0.040
White Men	3	77.78	0.00	.97	.99	0.061
African-American Women	3	58.18	0.00	.98	.99	0.052
White Women	3	36.65	0.00	.99	.99	0.041

Note. NNFI = Non-normed fit index, CFI = Comparative fit index, and RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation.

Table 5

Standardized Path Coefficients (Betas) for each Group for Re-estimated M_t
(Sample 1)

Causal Paths	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
OEOF → WGEOF	.82	.78	.69	.77
WGEOF → PWGE	.22	.20	.34	.29
WGEOF → OC	.18	.22	.09	.12
WGEOF → JS	.22	.19	.10	.18
PWGE → JS	.56	.56	.53	.49
JS → OC	.59	.55	.73	.69

Table 6

M_t : Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Individual Groups
on the Re-estimated Model (Sample 2)

	Chi-square Statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices		
	df	χ^2	$p <$	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA
African-American Men	4	35.29	0.00	.99	.99	0.039
White Men	4	50.39	0.00	.98	.99	0.048
African-American Women	4	25.83	0.00	.99	1.0	0.033
White Women	4	40.51	0.00	.98	.99	0.043

Note. NNFI = Non-normed fit index, CFI = Comparative fit index, and RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation.

Table 7

Standardized Path Coefficients (Betas) for each Group for Re-estimated M_t
(Sample 2)

Causal Paths	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
OEOF→WGEOF	.82	.78	.73	.76
WGEOF→PWGE	.20	.15	.32	.30
WGEOF→OC	.22	.24	.06	.15
WGEOF→JS	.17	.18	.12	.16
PWGE→JS	.57	.54	.53	.51
JS→OC	.57	.54	.75	.67

Table 8

Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Revised Model with Structural Coefficients Free to Vary and Constrained to be Equal (Samples 1 and 2)

	Chi-square Statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices			Difference Statistics	
	df	χ^2	$p <$	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	df	$\Delta\chi^2$
Revised M_t —B Free (S1)	16	209.97	.00	.98	.99	.049	—	—
Revised M_t —B Constrnd (S1)	34	540.18	.00	.98	.98	.054	18	330.21*
Revised M_t —B Free (S2)	16	152.86	.00	.99	.99	.041	—	—
Revised M_t —B Constrained (S2)	34	522.28	.00	.98	.98	.053	18	369.42*
Revised M_t —B Constrnd 3 grps(S1)	28	354.76	.00	.98	.99	.048	6	144.79*
Revised M_t —B Constrnd 2 grps(S1)	22	296.87	.00	.98	.99	.050	6	86.90*
Revised M_t —B Constrnd 3 grps(S2)	28	321.64	.00	.98	.99	.046	6	168.78*
Revised M_t —B Constrnd 2 grps(S2)	22	251.09	.00	.98	.99	.046	6	98.23*

Note. * = $p < .00001$

Table 9

Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Models successively constrained by Path (Sample 1)

	Chi-square statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices			Difference Statistics	
	df	χ^2	$p <$	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	df	$\Delta \chi^2$
Revised M _t —B Free (S1)	16	209.97	.00	.98	.99	.049	--	--
Constrained PWGE→JS	19	218.77	.00	.98	.99	.046	3	8.80 *
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS	22	229.81	.00	.98	.99	.043	6	19.80 **
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF	25	295.74	.00	.98	.99	.047	9	85.77 ***
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC	28	311.90	.00	.98	.99	.045	12	101.93 ***
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC, WGEOF→PWGE	31	433.44	.00	.98	.98	.051	15	223.47 ***
All Constrained	34	540.18	.00	.98	.98	.054	18	330.21 ***

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .0001$

Table 10

Chi-Square Statistics and Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Models successively constrained by Path (Sample 2)

	Chi-square statistic			Goodness-of-fit Indices			Difference Statistics	
	df	χ^2	$p <$	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	df	$\Delta \chi^2$
Revised M _t —B Free (S1)	16	152.86	.00	.99	.99	.041	--	--
Constrained PWGE→JS	19	158.01	.00	.99	.99	.038	3	6.00 ns
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS	22	159.20	.00	.99	.99	.035	6	6.34 ns
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF	25	219.73	.00	.99	.99	.040	9	66.87 ***
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC	28	262.61	.00	.99	.99	.041	12	109.75 ***
Constrained PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC, WGEOF→PWGE	31	410.42	.00	.98	.98	.049	15	257.56 ***
All Constrained	34	522.28	.00	.98	.98	.053	18	369.42 ***

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .0001$

Discussion

The primary goal in this research was to determine the degree to which the McIntyre et al., (2001) causal model—the target theoretical model that clarifies the effects of EOF attitudes on WGEOF, JS, and OC—is stable across four large groups within the United States military. In order to accomplish this goal, multiple-group SEM was used. Simultaneous multiple-group procedures in SEM allow the researcher to statistically test for the existence of noninvariance (or inconsistency) in causal structures across different groups. If statistically significant lack of fit is discovered, the researcher may conclude that the causal (structural) model is not the same across the different groups.

The use of large sample size in SEM yields more precise estimates of effects such as structural coefficients. It can also interfere with the clarity of interpretation. Most researchers do not face this quandary because their sample sizes are relatively small—perhaps on the average no greater than 200 (Hayduk, 1987). To answer whether the target theoretical model is tenable across four major groups within the U.S. military in light of the interpretation obstacles, a series of statistical tests were carried out designed to help the reader come to a conclusion about the results. The following discussion of the results is developed to reflect on the technically precise findings from the study and the practical conclusions that can be drawn from these findings.

Technical Findings with Practical Implications

The first technical finding in this study was that the measurement model, which described the “mapping” of the observable variables to the latent constructs was similar across the four groups. Little (1997) and others hold that prior to dealing with questions concerning the similarity or difference in a structural model across groups, the measurement model must show equivalent factor form and equivalent values of the loadings of the observed variables on the latent constructs (i.e., the values comprising Λ_x). Little goes on to explain that the practical fit indices may be used to establish these two conditions. Table 1 indicates that the practical fit indices used in this study (NNFI, RMSEA, and CFI) support the two conditions. Technically, there is evidence of differences among the variances and covariances among the latent constructs, as well as the variances of the measurement errors of the indicator variables. However, practically, one can conclude that there is evidence that the latent constructs (OEOF, WGEOF, PWGE, JS, and OC) have sufficiently similar mean across the four groups to allow for the focal investigation in this study.

The second technical finding was that within each of the groups, although the chi-square values surpassed cutoff values for statistical significance, the practical fit indices indicated that the target theoretical model fit the data quite well in samples 1 and 2. This suggests reasonable support for the hypothesized model. It should be noted that when the sample size is reduced from 5,000 to 500, then the chi-square values describing the fit of

the models with each of the groups correspondingly reduced by a factor of 90%. Practically speaking, therefore, the hypothesized model holds for each group.

A third technical finding pertained to one of the causal paths in the hypothesized model. An examination of results of each of the groups (Samples 1 and 2) suggested that the path—PWGE→OC—was extremely weak. The largest value of the standardized coefficient for this path was .04. Although, in a precise sense, this value was statistically significantly greater than zero, the path was dropped from the model because it appeared to be of little practical value.

The fourth technical finding was that the revised hypothesized model (revised as a function of dropping PWGE→OC) was not invariant across the four groups for either of the samples. This noninvariance is evidenced by a statistically significant $\Delta\chi^2$ value in Samples 1 and 2. Further, the difference cannot be simply explained away by large sample size, given the fact that the $\Delta\chi^2$ value was statistically significant with a sample size of 500. The bottom line is this: technically, the structural model cannot be viewed as invariant across the four groups. What does this mean from a practical perspective?

In order to answer this question, a variety of follow-up analyses were carried out. The first set was intended to identify one or more outlier groups...groups that might stand apart from the rest with regard to the estimated values of **B**. It was hypothesized that the Caucasian male group stood apart from the others. Table 8 indicates technically that the freeing the values of **B** for the Caucasian male group (both samples) did not, strictly speaking, lead to an acceptable fit because the $\Delta\chi^2$ values were statistically significant (see lines 5 and 7 in Table 8). However, this technical noninvariance disappears after adjusting the sample size downward from 5,000 to 500. In addition, practical fit indices are very close to optimal. Therefore, it appears as though the Caucasian male sample may account for the lack of invariance in the revised hypothesized model.

Another series of follow-up analyses were carried out as well. The goal in these analyses was to identify, not groups, but paths that may account for the lack of invariance of the target model. Therefore, in an iterative fashion, paths were successively constrained to be equal across the four groups. Results indicate that the following two paths are extremely similar across the groups: PWGE→JS, WGEOF→JS, OEOF→WGEOF, WGEOF→OC, after adjusting the sample size downward. This leaves two paths to lead to the greater discrepancies among the four groups: JS→OC and WGEOF→PWGE.

One of the reasons why it is important to examine the invariance of a causal model is to determine whether it is a reliable basis for creating practical interventions such as training and organizational development tools. It seems useful, therefore, to ask the question whether the sources of the noninvariance (the Caucasian male group and the JS→OC and WGEOF→PWGE paths) are so different that training and interventions would need to be specifically tailored to accommodate the differences.

To address this question, it seemed useful to compare the magnitude of the four groups' path coefficients. These values appear in Tables 5 and 7. An examination of these tables indicates that the values are very similar for the most part across the four groups. At the very least, one gets an impression that the relative ordering of the path coefficients for each group is very similar. This hypothesis was verified by computing the Kendall's concordance ratio (W), which showed a high degree of similarity in the rank ordering of the standardized path coefficients. Thus, it seems as though the noninvariance that exists across the samples is due more to absolute value of differences between standardized coefficients rather than a difference in their ordering. This leads to the practical conclusion that training and other organizational development interventions can use the theoretical model as a tool for identifying problems associated with the model's variables with little loss of generality (at least across these four large groups). This practical conclusion acknowledges that there may be greater connection for Caucasian males and the rest of the groups between JS and OC and less of a connection for this same group between OEOF and WGEOF. Nonetheless, the rank ordering of the structural coefficients for all groups is reasonably close.

Interventions, Training, and Other Practical Benefits

This paper is "littered" with esoteric statistical information. Such information provides the reader who is so inclined and so trained to examine the foundation for the recommendations that are presented below. Indeed, the presentation of statistical esoterica was not offered as a way of proving anything. The fact of the matter is that statistics are sometimes complicated tools to provide very practical guidelines for intervening within organizations such as the United States military. To summarize the practical value of the hypothesized model, a decision tree has been designed, based on the findings in this and the McIntyre et al., (2001) studies. See Tables 11, 12, and 13. This decision tree summarizes directions that organization development interventions might take within military commands when faced with certain problems. It is assumed in this decision tree format that an extremely important outcome for the military is OC. Therefore, the tree begins at this point and works its way back to possible causes of substandard OC, providing simple guidelines as to the source of the problem and ways of dealing with the problems. Note that the tree as presented is "bare bones" in the sense that details on indicators of problems and solutions are not elaborated upon.

Limitations of the Study

This study has certain limitations. First, from a methods' perspective, it must be acknowledged that the current study is based on self-reported data all collected by means of the same instrument. This means that there may be certain built-in measurement biases that account for the relationships among observed data. There is no simple rebuttal to this apparent flaw. One can point out that there really is no other practical way of assessing causal links among key organizational processes with large samples except through the use of self-report data. One can also point out that it is relatively common

Table 11. Flow Diagram for Organizational Development (Part 1)

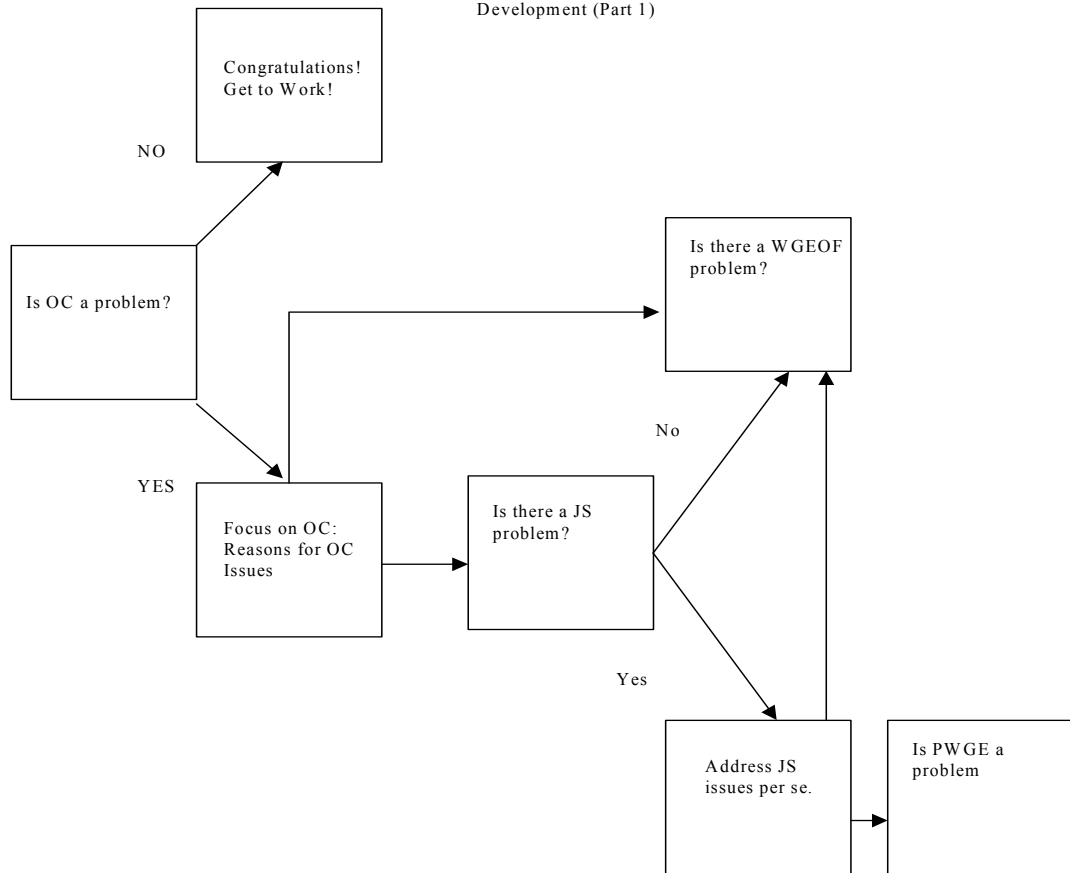


Table 12. Flow Diagram for Organizational Development (Part 2)

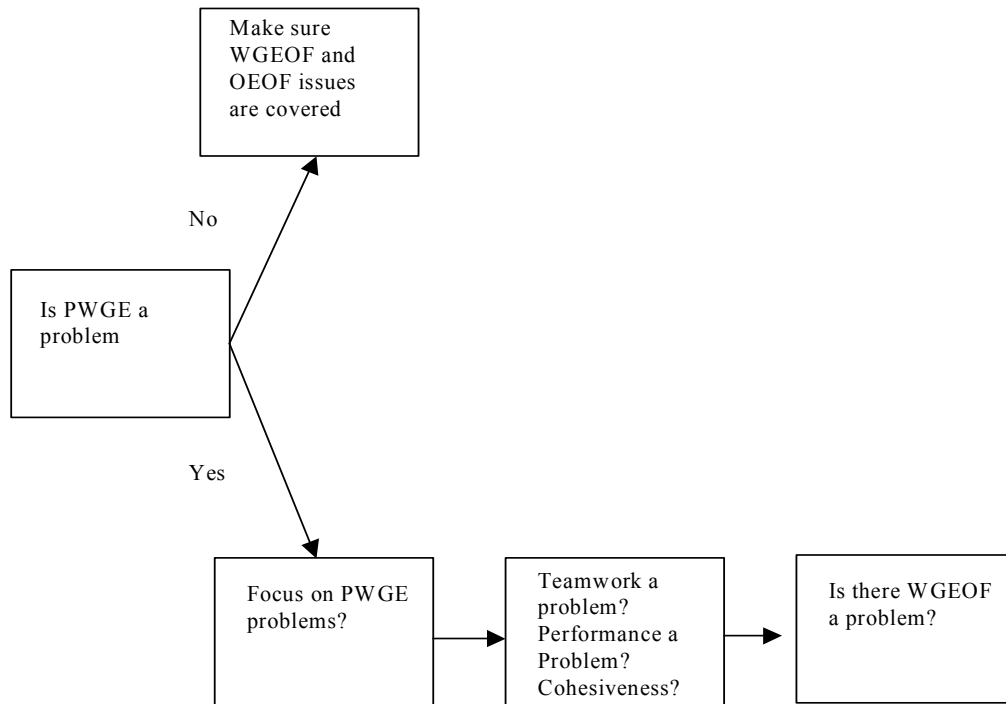
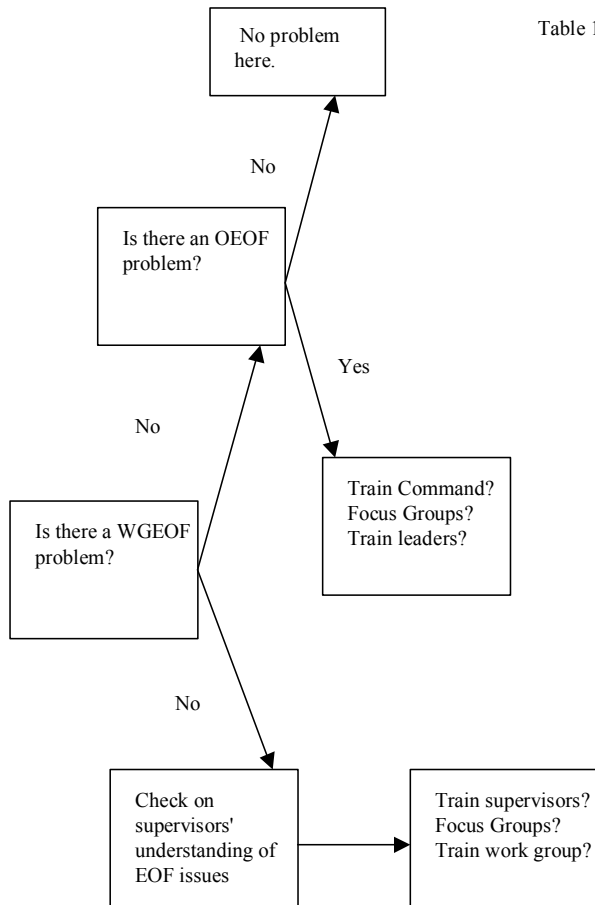


Table 13. Flow Diagram for Organizational Development (Part 3)



practice within the organizational behavior literature to use self-report data from the same instrument to draw conclusions on organizational behavior processes. Finally, one can emphasize that the care taken in this research, along with the very large samples, make the study perhaps as good as it gets in dealing with the focal phenomena.

There are other substantive limitations. For example, only four groups were examined within this study to determine the invariance of the hypothesized model. All samples comprised individual respondents from the enlisted ranks. Perhaps similar samples from the officer and warrant officer ranks could be investigated? Further, perhaps other sociocultural groups (such as Latino Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders) should also be investigated. This seems as though it would be a useful follow-up study to ensure that the effects of status in the organization and unique cultures are better understood. To this end, such a follow-up study is being planned.

Future Theoretical Work

Organizational behavior researchers—particularly those within the military community—would do well to examine further several interesting findings. First and foremost is the direct effect of PWGE on JS and its mediated effect on OC. This effect seems to imply that team self-efficacy, experienced by team members, leads to individual JS, which in turn leads to OC. Within the military, teams are critical. If perceptions of work group and team performance are low, then what might ensue are reduced JS and ultimately OC. Why does this happen? How? These are important questions.

Another interesting phenomenon is the impact of WGEOF on PWGE. This may be a cogent way of construing the tie in between feelings of fair treatment and combat readiness. The logic for this statement goes as follows. If PWGE can be thought of as akin to self-efficacy, then as it increases, performance in the work group increases. Attitudinal variables such as EOF in influencing PWGE ultimately influence performance. This may be a line of reasoning that military researchers should investigate seriously.

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Appendix 1
Final Scale Items

Work Group EOF

1. A supervisor gave a minority subordinate a severe punishment for a minor infraction. A majority member who committed the same offense was give a less severe penalty. R
2. A qualified minority first level supervisor was denied the opportunity for professional education by his/her supervisor. A majority first-level supervisor with the same qualifications was given the opportunity. R
3. A majority supervisor did not select a qualified minority subordinate for promotion. R
4. A majority supervisor frequently reprimanded a minority subordinate but rarely reprimanded a majority subordinate. R
5. A minority member was assigned less desirable office space than a majority member. R

Organizational EOF

1. Minority members get more extra work details than majority members. R
2. Majority members get away with breaking rules that result in punishment for minorities. R
3. Majority men have a better chance than minority women to get the best training opportunities. R

Organizational Commitment

1. For me, this organization is the best of all possible ways to serve my country.
2. I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization.
3. I find that my values and the organization's values are very similar.

4. This organization really inspires me to perform my job in the very best manner possible.
5. I am extremely glad to be part of this organization compared to other similar organizations that I could be in.

Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction with ...

1. The chance to help people improve their welfare through the performance of my job.
2. The recognition and pride my family has in the work I do.
3. The chance to acquire valuable skills in my job that prepare me for future opportunities.
4. My job as a whole.

Work Group Efficacy

1. The amount of output of my work group is very high.
2. When high priority work arises, such as short suspenses, crash programs, and schedule changes, the people in my work group do an outstanding job in handling these situations.
3. My work group's performance in comparison to similar work groups is very high.
4. The quality of output of my work group is very high.

Note. R indicates items that were reversed scored.

Appendix 2
Technique for Identifying Dissimilar Groups

In order to carry out these analyses described in Table 8 (rows five through eight), the following set of procedures was carried out.

1. The mean of each of the path coefficients presented in Tables 3 and 5 was computed across each pair of samples for each path.
2. The mean and standard deviation for each mean path coefficient across the four groups was then computed.
3. The absolute value of the \underline{z} -score was computed for each mean path based on the standard deviation of values across the four groups. This value indicates the degree to which a particular group's path coefficient (B_i) is deviant.

The mean of the absolute value of these \underline{z} -scores across the six paths for each group was computed as a logical tool for detecting groups with extreme groups. Groups were rank-ordered with regard to the average absolute value of the \underline{z} -scores.

The Effects of Discrimination on Job Satisfaction in the Military: Comparing Evidence from the Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey and the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey

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Abstract

This study examines the extent to which experiences perceived as racial discrimination by victims affect reported levels of job-related satisfaction among military personnel. Data from the *Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey* (AFEOS) and the *Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey* (MEOCS) are analyzed separately. Comparison of the two analyses confirms positive relations among racial/ethnic groups or, more generally, a healthy climate for equal opportunity is associated with higher levels of satisfaction related to job security, opportunities to acquire skills, and overall job satisfaction. Conversely, experiencing discrimination attributable to military sources is associated with lower satisfaction levels. Recommendations are offered to include additional items in the MEOCS, based on items included in the AFEOS, to enable more detailed longitudinal assessments of discrimination experienced by survey respondents.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Effects of Discrimination on Job Satisfaction in the Military: Comparing Evidence from the Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey and the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey

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Introduction

This investigation extends previous analyses of the effects of discrimination victimization on job satisfaction and perceptions of race relations and the climate for equal opportunity in the U.S. military (Stewart 2000 a, b). Recent interest in the state of race relations in the Department of Defense (DoD) was sparked by the November 1999 release of the *Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey* (AFEOS) (Scarville et al., 1999). Over 76,000 members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard were surveyed between September 1996 and February 1997, with an overall response rate of 53% (Scarville et al., 1999; p. iii). Significantly, approximately 67% of respondents reported experiencing a DoD-related incident within the last 12 months, while 65% experienced an incident in the local community. In addition, 23% reported that family members other than themselves had experienced some type of incident (Scarville, et al., 1999; p. 41). The report summarizing the survey results contains a wealth of detailed information about incidents including members' perceptions of the efficacy of official actions taken in response to victims' complaints (e.g. satisfaction with the outcome of a complaint, actions taken in response to a complaint) (Scarville et al., 1999).

The information embedded in the responses to the AFEOS is of immense value for developing and enhancing policies and procedures promoting equal opportunity in the Armed Forces. However, the usefulness of this resource can be enhanced if the applicability of research findings can be extended beyond the time frame covered by the survey. This study constitutes a preliminary effort to conjoin information from the AFEOS with relatively comparable information from the *Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey* (MEOCS).

The MEOCS database contains valuable information about perceptions of the equal opportunity climate and organizational effectiveness. Survey responses have been accumulated since the early 1990s, and thus provide a longitudinal perspective on the issues of concern to this study. To the extent that similar patterns are observed in the AFEOS and MEOCS responses, policy makers can have greater confidence in using findings based on analysis of the AFEOS data to refine existing policies and procedures or develop new strategies to promote the DoD's vision of equal opportunity (Department of Defense, 1998).

The items from the AFEOS and the MEOCS that can be compared are identified in the second section and descriptive statistics highlighting similarities and differences in response patterns are presented. The methodology employed to undertake the comparison is described in the third section. The results of the detailed statistical analysis of the effects of discrimination on perceptions of job satisfaction based on data from the AFEOS and the MEOCS are presented and interpreted in the fourth section. The implications of the study for future research and the design of subsequent surveys are explored in the last section.

Job Satisfaction and Discrimination Measures in the AFEOS and the MEOCS

Based on the analysis of AFEOS, Stewart (2000a, b) reports that experiencing racial incidents has a negative effect on several dimensions of job satisfaction. The effects are moderated, however, if victims are satisfied with reporting and investigative processes. As would be expected, some types of incidents have stronger effects on job satisfaction than others. Specifically, incidents perceived to affect promotion opportunities and/or obtaining career-enhancing assignments have the largest impact. Offensive encounters involving DoD personnel and incidents involving family members also have significant adverse effects on job satisfaction (Stewart, 2000b).

Direct information about the relationship between racial incidents and job satisfaction cannot be generated from the MEOCS. In fact, most questions in the MEOCS do not solicit information about actual experiences. Instead, many of the questions ask respondents to assess the likelihood that specific types of incidents COULD occur in a respondent's work unit. However, a limited number of items in the MEOCS examine direct experiences, thereby allowing direct comparisons to AFEOS responses.

There are three comparable questions about job satisfaction in the AFEOS and the MEOCS. Job security is examined in item 26c of the AFEOS and in item 71 in the MEOCS. Chances to acquire valuable job skills are explored in item 26g of the AFEOS and in item 72 of the MEOCS. A global measure of job satisfaction is included as item 26h in the AFEOS and in item 73 in the MEOCS. In each case, however, there are differences in the manner in which the questions are framed and in the wording of the response options between the two instruments that could introduce variations in respondents' interpretations.

In the AFEOS, question 26 is a general stem "How satisfied are you with", followed by seven separate areas for which responses are requested, including the three noted above. In the MEOCS, the stem of the question is "Level of satisfaction with". In the AFEOS, the response options are 1 = very dissatisfied; 2 = dissatisfied; 3 = neither satisfied or dissatisfied; 4 = satisfied; 5 = very satisfied. In the MEOCS, the response items are 1 = very satisfied; 2 = moderately satisfied; 3 = neither dissatisfied nor satisfied; 4 = somewhat dissatisfied; 5 = very dissatisfied. To create comparability, the MEOCS data were recoded such that higher numbers indicate more favorable ratings.

There is less comparability between the AFEOS and the MEOCS with respect to questions soliciting assessments of the quality of race relations and/or the climate for equal opportunity. A similar difficulty exists in identifying comparable information about incidents of discrimination.

Item 61c in the AFEOS focuses specifically on race relations: “To what extent at your installation/ship are race/ethnic relations good?” The most comparable question in the MEOCS is item 111, which solicits responses to the statement; “I personally would rate the equal opportunity climate in this organization . . .” (very poor to very good). The construct of “equal opportunity climate” in the MEOCS is obviously different than that of “race relations” in the AFEOS. In addition, the organizational unit for which the assessment is to be rendered differs. In the case of the MEOCS, the unit of observation (organization) is typically smaller than in the AFEOS (installation/ship). As a consequence, the AFEOS assessments may be less reliable and exhibit greater variation than is the case for the MEOCS.

A similar difficulty exists in identifying comparable information about incidents of discrimination. The AFEOS responses focuses on three general categories of incidents: “Member Incident-DoD,” “Member Incident-Community,” and “Member/Family Incident.” Within the category “Member Incident-DoD,” there are three general types of incidents: “Offensive Encounters-DoD” (insensitivity), “Threat/Harm-DoD” (harassment), and what in this analysis will be termed “DoD Discrimination.” This latter category consists of discriminatory incidents involving assignment or career, evaluations, punishment, and training/test scores.

In the MEOCS, there are only two items exploring discrimination victimization. These items lack the specificity and detail found in the AFEOS. To illustrate, item 101 in the MEOCS is: “I have personally experienced an incident of discrimination (racial, sexual, or sexual harassment) directed at me from *military* sources (including civilians employed by the military).” Thus responses to the MEOCS can reflect either race or sex discrimination or both. As a result, it would be expected, *ceteris paribus*, that the proportion of respondents reporting a discriminatory experience should be greater than is the case for the AFEOS. Since no guidance is provided to respondents, it is possible that responses could encompass not only the AFEOS DoD Discrimination category, but also the broader Member Incident-DoD category. Item 104 in the MEOCS is: “I have personally experienced an incident of discrimination (racial, sexual, or sexual harassment) from *non-military* sources.” This item should correlate significantly with the “Member Incident-Community” and “Member/Family Incident” categories in the AFEOS.

The items discussed above constitute the core focus of the present investigation. The methodology employed to compare the linkages between discrimination and job satisfaction using the AFEOS and MEOCS databases is described below.

Data and Analytical Framework

To maximize potential comparability between the AFEOS and MEOCS data, the MEOCS sample is restricted to responses from surveys conducted during 1996 and 1997. This time period encompasses the period during which the AFEOS was administered (September 1996 -- February 1997). This results in a sample of approximately 100,000 MEOCS

respondents compared to approximately 35,000 AFEOS responses. Table 1 contains the means and standard deviations for variables relevant to this investigation. Note that the variable means and standard deviations are reported separately for men and women as well as for the entire sample. Casual observation reveals only slight differences between the two samples for the means of the three job satisfaction measures.

In contrast to the pattern for the job satisfaction measures, there are large differences between the mean of the variable measuring the quality of race relations in the AFEOS and the variable capturing the evaluation of the EO climate in the MEOCS. As the statistics in Table 1 indicate, the race relations climate is evaluated more favorably by AFEOS respondents than is the EO climate by MEOCS respondents. The magnitude of the disparity suggests that the two measures are not comparable and actually contain very different information.

The separate reporting of means for men and women in Table 1 is designed in particular to avoid mis-measurement deriving from the aggregation of racial and sexual discrimination in the MEOCS. Since women are disproportionately victims of sexual discrimination and sexual harassment, their MEOCS responses are more likely to reflect a combination of racial and sex discrimination experiences than men. Since relatively few men experience or report sexual discrimination victimization their AFEOS and MEOCS responses should be more similar than is the case for women. Examining the relevant statistics in Table 1 suggests that for men, there are similar means for the AFEOS variable measuring the prevalence of discrimination in assignments, evaluation, or training and the MEOCS variable measuring the prevalence of experiences of military discrimination. Note, however, that the means for women for these two variables display large differences. The pattern is consistent with the hypothesis advanced above, as the overall prevalence of military discrimination reported by women in the MEOCS (.09) is greater than the reported prevalence of racial discrimination in assignments, evaluation, and training in the AFEOS (.04). Thus it appears that the experiences reported in the MEOCS reflect sex discrimination in addition to racial discrimination.

It is not clear from the statistics in Table 1 that there is any comparability between the measurement of non-military discrimination in the MEOCS and the various indicators of non-DoD related racial incidents in the AFEOS. While the mean of the AFEOS measure of the prevalence of incidents fitting the Threat/Harm Community typology is comparable to that of the MEOCS non-military discrimination indicator, the former construct is much broader. This suggests that the two measures contain very different information.

TABLE 1 – COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Variable	MEN		MEOCS WOMEN		TOTAL			MEN		AFEOS WOMEN		TOTAL	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
A. Job Satisfaction													
Job Security	3.67	1.24	3.67	1.21	3.67	1.23		3.61	1.07	3.61	1.04	3.61	1.07
Acquiring Job Skills	3.45	1.34	3.54	1.32	3.47	1.34		3.43	1.22	3.38	1.22	3.43	1.22
Overall Job Satisfaction	3.54	1.26	3.51	1.27	3.54	1.26		3.59	1.10	3.47	1.18	3.58	1.11
B. Race Relations/EO Climate													
Race Relations								3.88	1.08	3.61	1.08	3.84	1.08
EO Climate	3.43	1.03	3.19	1.04	3.39	1.04							
C. Negative Job Experiences – Non-Racial													
Assignment, Evaluation, Training								.68	.47	.68	.47	.68	.47
Punishment								.07	.25	.08	.26	.07	.25
D. Discrimination – Racial Job/Assignment													
Assignment, Evaluation, Training								.11	.31	.14	.34	.11	.31
Assignment, Evaluation								.08	.27	.12	.32	.08	.27
Training/Test Scores								.03	.17	.03	.17	.03	.17
Punishment								.04	.19	.05	.21	.04	.19
Discrimination – Military	.10	.30	.22	.41	.12	.33							
E. Non-job Racial Incidents Measures													
Family Encounters/Threats - DoD								.04	.20	.04	.19	.04	.20
Member Incident - DoD								.68	.47	.65	.48	.68	.47
Offensive Encounters - Community								.67	.47	.60	.49	.65	.48
Threat/Harm - Community								.13	.33	.08	.26	.12	.33
Member Incident - Community								.67	.47	.60	.49	.66	.47
Member/Family Incident								.23	.42	.24	.43	.23	.42
Services Discrimination								.13	.34	.16	.37	.14	.34
Discrimination – Non-Military	.11	.31	.09	.28	.11	.31							
F. Composite Measures													
Any Incident								.77	.42	.75	.43	.77	.42
Military & Non-military Discrimination	.17	.37	.29	.46	.19	.39							
G. Other Job/Assignment –Racial													
Offensive Encounters - DoD								.67	.47	.64	.48	.66	.47
Threat/Harm - DoD								.10	.30	.09	.29	.10	.30

There is also a lack of correspondence between the measure of the overall prevalence of experiences of discrimination in the MEOCS and the measure of the experience of any type of racial incident in the AFEOS. The magnitude of the disparity between the two measures is extremely large (.17 in the MEOCS versus .77 in the AFEOS).

The AFEOS database allows negative job-related incidents unrelated to race to be distinguished from those in which race is perceived to have played a role. Such incidents are likely to have a major effect on job satisfaction independent of racial incidents, per se. As indicated in Table 1, over two-thirds of the respondents to the AFEOS survey experienced such incidents related to assignments, evaluation, or training and another seven percent experienced punishment incidents not related to race.

The analytical framework developed in the next section is designed to incorporate the nuances discussed above that are reflected in Table 1.

Methodology

The general empirical model used in this investigation takes the following form:

- (1) Satisfaction = f(Race Relations/EO Climate; Discrimination Experience;
Race/Ethnicity; Gender; Branch of Service; Paygrade; Education)

The structure of this model is designed to allow comparable variables to be employed in examining the effects of discrimination on satisfaction measures in the AFEOS and MEOCS samples. As noted previously, there are differences in data items that preclude the use of the full range of information available in each data set. The definitions for each of the specific variables included in the model can be found in Appendix A.

Three measures of satisfaction are examined: JOBSEC, JOBSKILLS, and JOBSAT. These variables measure respectively, respondents' perception of the degree of job security, opportunities to obtain skills, and overall job satisfaction. Stewart (2000a) examined the effects of racial incidents on one of these measures, JOBSAT, along with four other measures of satisfaction with military life.

As discussed previously, the measures of the quality of race relations and/or the EO climate are different in the AFEOS and the MEOCS. In the model analyzing AFEOS data, this variable is the respondent's answer to Item 61c in the AFEOS, i.e., "To what extent at your installation/ship are race/ethnic relations good?" In the analysis of the MEOCS data this variable is respondent's answer to item 111, i.e., "I personally would rate the equal opportunity climate in this organization . . ." (very poor to very good). In both cases, it is anticipated that more positive assessments of race relations or the EO climate will be associated with greater satisfaction with the job.

The treatment of a respondent's perception of being a victim of discrimination also differs between the AFEOS and the MEOCS, as noted previously. In the examination of the AFEOS data, the discrimination variable is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent has experienced "DoD Discrimination," i.e., discriminatory incidents involving assignment or career, evaluations, punishment, and training/test scores (0 = No, 1 = Yes). In the analysis of the MEOCS data, the discrimination measure is the respondent's answer to item 101; "I have personally experienced an incident of discrimination (racial, sexual, or sexual harassment) directed at me from *military* sources (including civilians employed by the military) (0 = No, 1 = Yes). As indicated earlier, responses to the MEOCS item can reflect either race or sex discrimination, or both. As a consequence, the coefficients may reflect different information content in the two samples. In both analyses, it is expected that the coefficient of the discrimination variable will be negative, i.e., satisfaction should decrease if an individual has experienced discrimination. Because there are no comparable measures of non-military discrimination in the two databases, no variables are included to control for the influence of this type of discriminatory experience on job satisfaction.

It is reasonable to expect that the relationship between discrimination victimization and job satisfaction may vary across racial/ethnic groups. The treatment of racial/ethnic groups in this model is identical to that employed in Stewart (2000a). Specifically, a set of racial/ethnic dummy variables is included (ASIAN, BLACK, HISP, and NATAM), with Whites constituting the reference group. It is not possible to make specific sign predictions, although Stewart (2000a) finds Hispanics, and Native Americans/Alaskan Natives consistently report higher levels of satisfaction than Whites and Asian Americans and Blacks express less overall job satisfaction than Whites.

Differences in job-related satisfaction between men and women should also be anticipated. Stewart (2000a) reports that women expressed lower levels of overall job satisfaction than men. Because separate analyses are undertaken for men and women, a variable controlling for gender (FEMALE) is only included in the analyses that combine the observations for men and women.

The remaining variables in the model are essentially controls designed to account for other factors that are likely to influence reported levels of satisfaction. There are dummy variables for each service except the Army, which serves as the reference group (USAF, USN, USMC, USCG). These dummy variables are proxies for Service-specific cultural protocols and approaches to duty performance. In addition, these variables are indicators of Service-specific race relations and EO climate characteristics. Stewart (2000a) finds that Navy personnel are typically less satisfied than the Army reference group and that Marine Corps respondents express the highest levels of satisfaction. Dummy variables are also included to examine how satisfaction is affected by rank. Stewart (2000a) indicates that the level of satisfaction generally increases with paygrade and the influence of PAYGRADE is relatively large compared to the other factors. Finally, there are controls for level of education. Stewart (2000a) finds that respondents

who had completed some college or had a college degree express lower levels of satisfaction than their less educated counterparts.

Multiple regression analysis is used to examine the influences of the various independent variables on each of the dependent variables. The AFEOS data were pre-weighted by the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) to mirror Service demographics. In the AFEOS analysis, White male Army members in paygrades E1- E4, with a high school education or less constitute the reference group. The MEOCS data are unweighted, and Army units are over-represented. The control group in the MEOCS analysis is the same except that the control paygrade is E1-E3.

The results of the various analyses are presented and interpreted in the next section.

Results

The results obtained for JOBSEC, JOBSKILLS, and JOBSAT are presented, respectively, in Tables 2A, 2B, and 2C. Only the coefficients that are statistically significant are shown. In general, limiting the set of independent variables to allow comparable factors to be included in the analyses of the two samples did not produce markedly different results in the analysis of the AFEOS sample, compared to the findings reported in Stewart (2000). The principal concern in this investigation is with the results for the Race Relations/EO Climate and Discrimination Experience measures.

In the JOBSEC regressions (Table 2A) the respective measures all have the predicted signs and are statistically significant with the exception of MILDISC in the MEOCS analysis for women. The relative contribution to the overall explanatory power of RACEREL and DODDISC is comparable in the AFEOS regression. However, in the MEOCS regressions EOCLIM makes a much larger contribution to the overall explanatory power of the model than MILDISC. This pattern could reflect, in part, that the broader construct of the EO climate is more closely linked to this measure of job satisfaction than race relations, per se. It may also reflect the diffuse content of the variable, MILDISC, discussed previously. As noted previously, MILDISC is not statistically significant in the MEOCS analysis for women.

The same patterns are found in the JOBSKILLS and JOBSAT regressions. In these cases, the coefficient of MILDISC is negative and statistically significant in the MEOCS regression for women. The relative contribution of the Race Relations/EO Climate variables is largest in the JOBSAT regressions.

Overall, the effect of a DoD discrimination experience on satisfaction measures ranges from -.392 to -.457 for men and from -.374 to -.610 for women. The coefficient of FEMALE is positive in the JOBSEC and JOBSKILLS regressions, and negative in the JOBSAT regression. In all cases, the effect is small. The coefficient of FEMALE is also negative in the results for JOBSAT reported in Stewart (2000a).

TABLE 2A
REGRESSION RESULTS – JOB SECURITY

VARIABLE	MEN			AFEOS WOMEN			TOTAL			MEN			MEOCS WOMEN			TOTAL		
	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA
RACEREL	.141	.001	.141	.174	.002	.178	.145	.001	.146									
DODDISC	-.457	.004	-.131	-.374	.008	-.123	-.443	.003	-.130									
EOCLIM										.294	.003	.244	.300	.007	.260	.295	.003	.248
MILDISC										-.106	.011	-.026	--	--	--	-.081	.009	-.021
ASIAN	.083	.006	.014	--	--	--	.074	.005	.012	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BLACK	--	--	--	-.135	.006	-.059	-.030	.003	-.011	.066	.009	.020	--	--	--	.052	.008	.016
HISP	.048	.004	.013	.081	.009	.021	.052	.003	.014	.117	.011	.027	--	--	--	.105	.011	.024
NATAM	-.066	.010	-.006	--	--	--	-.054	.009	-.005	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
FEMALE	--	--	--	--	--	--	.043	.003	.014	--	--	--	--	--	--	.100	.008	.030
USAF	.041	.003	.016	.030	.006	.014	.041	.002	.017	-.071	.008	-.023	-.039	.017	-.014	-.064	.007	-.021
USN	.258	.003	.107	.181	.006	.078	.247	.002	.103	.083	.012	.018	.122	.026	.028	.091	.011	.019
USMC	.221	.003	.067	.275	.014	.048	.223	.003	.065	.088	.010	.023	.098	.030	.020	.089	.010	.023
USCG	.021	.007	.003	--	--	--	.015	.006	.002	--	--	--	-.169	.054	-.018	-.045	.022	-.005
PAYGRAD2	-.143	.002	-.067	-.066	.006	-.031	-.130	.002	-.061	.084	.008	.029	.091	.018	.030	.085	.007	.029
PAYGRAD3	-.228	.005	-.065	--	--	--	-.195	.005	-.056	-.076	.011	-.019	-.051	.022	-.015	-.070	.010	-.019
PAYGRAD4	-.296	.006	-.073	-.186	.014	-.042	-.279	.005	-.068	.176	.022	.022	--	--	--	.151	.020	.019
SOMECOL	-.017	.003	-.008	.021	.006	.010	-.014	.002	-.006	-.044	.008	-.018	--	--	--	-.042	.007	-.017
COLDEG	--	--	--	-.112	.011	-.044	-.017	.004	-.007	-.066	.010	-.024	-.080	.021	-.031	-.069	.009	-.025
INTERCEPT	3.129	.005		3.038	.011		3.109	.004		2.673	.013		2.745	.029		2.667	.012	
ADJ R **2	.063			.086			.065			.064			.069			.064		
STD ERROR	1.040			.994			1.034			1.199			1.165			1.194		
F	4756.79			1062.03			5344.51			654.48			138.36			738.42		

TABLE 2B
REGRESSION RESULTS – JOB SKILLS

VARIABLE	MEN			AFEOS WOMEN			TOTAL			MEN			MEOCS WOMEN			TOTAL		
	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA
RACEREL	.164	.001	.144	.203	.003	.178	.169	.001	.149									
DODDISC	-.452	.004	-.114	-.610	.009	-.172	-.479	.004	-.123									
EOCLIM										.310	.003	.239	.329	.008	.260	.315	.003	.244
MILDISC										-.088	.011	-.020	-.048	.019	-.015	-.076	.010	-.018
ASIAN	.166	.007	.024	.075	.015	.011	.157	.006	.023	.055	.019	.007	--	--	--	.054	.017	.007
BLACK	.239	.003	.073	.209	.007	.078	.234	.003	.074	.229	.010	.063	.151	.019	.051	.216	.008	.062
HISP	.184	.004	.044	.188	.011	.041	.187	.004	.044	.139	.012	.029	--	--	--	.125	.011	.026
NATAM	-.026	.012	-.002	.245	.027	.021	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
FEMALE	--	--	--	--	--	--	.017	.003	.005	--	--	--	--	--	--	.156	.009	.043
USAF	.171	.003	.061	-.082	.007	-.032	.135	.003	.049	.075	.009	.023	-.042	.019	-.014	.055	.008	.017
USN	.132	.003	.048	-.043	.007	-.016	.112	.003	.041	.130	.013	.025	--	--	--	.108	.012	.021
USMC	.168	.004	.045	.055	.016	.008	.146	.004	.037	.213	.011	.052	--	--	--	.194	.010	.045
USCG	.065	.008	.008	-.211	.022	-.023	.003	.007	.004	--	--	--	-.371	.059	-.037	--	--	--
PAYGRAD2	.246	.003	.101	.114	.006	.046	.229	.003	.094	.157	.008	.051	.079	.020	.023	.145	.008	.046
PAYGRAD3	.599	.006	.149	.656	.014	.167	.605	.005	.151	.235	.012	.056	.207	.024	.056	.228	.011	.055
PAYGRAD4	.636	.006	.138	.650	.017	.124	.636	.006	.136	.259	.023	.030	--	--	--	.223	.021	.025
SOMECOL	-.010	.003	-.004	-.056	.007	-.023	-.017	.003	-.007	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
COLDEG	-.018	.005	-.006	-.073	.013	-.024	-.027	.005	-.009	.061	.010	.020	--	--	--	.058	.009	.020
INTERCEPT	2.438	.005		2.581	.013		2.472	.005		2.206	.014		2.405	.031		2.207	.013	
ADJ R **2	.081			.113			.084			.074			.073			.074		
STD ERROR	1.174			1.147			1.172			1.289			1.271			1.286		
F	6202.87			1458.50			7029.65			772.91			145.52			857.58		

TABLE 2C
REGRESSION RESULTS – OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION

VARIABLE	MEN			AFEOS WOMEN			TOTAL			MEN			MEOCS WOMEN			TOTAL		
	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA	COEF	S.E.	BETA
RACEREL	.188	.001	.184	.211	.003	.192	.192	.001	.186									
DODDISC	-.392	.004	-.109	-.416	.008	-.122	-.397	.003	-.112									
EOCLIM										.363	.003	.298	.367	.007	.302	.365	.003	.301
MILDISC										-.106	.010	-.026	-.042	.018	-.014	-.088	.009	-.023
ASIAN	.199	.006	.032	.108	.015	.017	.185	.005	.030	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BLACK	.204	.003	.069	.120	.007	.046	.186	.003	.065	.158	.009	.047	.099	.018	.034	.147	.008	.045
HISP	.146	.004	.038	.264	.011	.059	.160	.003	.041	.129	.011	.029	.059	.028	.012	.119	.010	.026
NATAM	--	--	--	.474	.026	.042	.060	.010	.005	.048	.020	.006	.121	.039	.018	.061	.018	.008
FEMALE	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.022	.003	-.007	--	--	--	--	--	--	.064	.008	.019
USAF	.051	.003	.020	-.019	.007	-.008	.041	.003	.016	.091	.008	.029	--	--	--	.079	.007	.026
USN	-.052	.003	-.021	--	--	--	-.040	.003	-.016	-.038	.012	-.008	--	--	--	-.038	.011	-.008
USMC	.159	.004	.047	.099	.016	.015	.156	.003	.044	.118	.010	.031	--	--	--	.105	.010	.026
USCG	.043	.007	.006	-.060	.021	-.007	.030	.006	.004	--	--	--	-.228	.056	-.024	--	--	--
PAYGRAD2	.344	.002	.156	.301	.006	.125	.338	.002	.152	.297	.008	.102	.220	.019	.068	.285	.007	.097
PAYGRAD3	.545	.005	.151	.615	.014	.162	.554	.005	.152	.213	.011	.054	.139	.023	.039	.199	.010	.051
PAYGRAD4	.668	.006	.161	.797	.016	.158	.684	.005	.161	.421	.021	.051	.195	.052	.022	.387	.020	.047
SOMECOL	-.064	.003	-.029	--	--	--	-.055	.002	-.025	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
COLDEG	-.098	-.005	-.036	-.138	.013	-.048	-.106	.004	-.039	.076	.009	.027	.059	.021	.022	.074	.009	.027
INTERCEPT	2.606	.005		2.492	.013		2.594	.004		2.104	.013		2.222	.030		2.108	.012	
ADJ R **2	.100			.102			.101			.119			.100			.115		
STD ERROR	1.044			1.115			1.055			1.178			1.205			1.183		
F	7806.19			1299.70			8569.83			1299.93			204.84			1403.03		

The pattern for the Service's coefficients is inconsistent across the two samples both in terms of signs and magnitudes. There is greater consistency for the rank indicators except in the JOBSEC regressions. Consistent with the results reported in Stewart (2000a), in the JOBSKILLS and JOBSAT regressions the coefficients of PAYGRAD2, PAYGRAD3, and PAYGRAD4 are typically positive and generally increase in magnitude as rank increases. In the AFEOS analysis, the rank indicators contribute significantly to the model's overall explanatory power. However, in the MEOCS analyses the relative contribution of these variables is much smaller. The coefficients of the education variables exhibit different patterns. There are more statistically significant coefficients in the AFEOS results than in the MEOCS results.

Overall, comparison of the two analyses confirms positive relations among racial/ethnic groups or, more generally, a healthy climate for equal opportunity is associated with higher levels of satisfaction with job security, opportunities to acquire skills, and the job overall. The particular strength of the AFEOS is the detailed examination of both discrimination experiences and perceptions of the efficacy of administrative responses to discrimination complaints. The longitudinal perspective available through the MEOCS allows continuous monitoring of the trends in the quality of the EO climate. However, one of the limitations of the MEOCS is the paucity of information solicited about discrimination incidents. Usefulness of the MEOCS could be enhanced substantially by including adaptations of selected items from the AFEOS focusing on discrimination experiences. Specific recommendations are offered below.

Discussion and Implications

The revised version of the MEOCS will maintain the existing approach to the assessment of the EO climate in which most questions do not solicit information about actual experiences, and instead ask respondents to assess the likelihood that specific types of incidents could occur in their work unit. As noted, information is solicited about actual military and non-military discrimination incidents. There are currently only six items that elicit information about such experiences. This analysis has identified an overlap in coverage between the military discrimination responses in the MEOCS and responses to queries regarding DoD discrimination in the AFEOS. The DoD discrimination construct encompasses the areas of evaluation, assignments, promotions, and training. Specific information about problems in these areas would significantly assist unit leaders in using the MEOCS to implement initiatives to improve the EO climate. Modification of existing items and inclusion of an item adapted from the AFEOS could greatly enhance the operational usefulness of the MEOCS. A proposed modification to one of the existing items and a proposed additional item are presented in Appendix B.

Inclusion of the proposed item or a variant would allow longitudinal tracking of trends in discrimination experiences that could be gauged against the baseline information provided by the AFEOS. More generally, it can make a significant contribution to the continuing effort to implement fully the DoD Human Goals.

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Appendix A – Variable Names and Definitions

VARIABLE	DEFINITION
DEPENDENT	
JOBSEC	Perception of degree of job security (1-5)
JOBSKILLS	Perception of opportunities to obtain job skills (1-5)
JOBSAT	Overall satisfaction with job (1 – 5)
INDEPENDENT	
RACEREL	Perception of the quality of race relations (1-5) (AFEOS)
DODDISC	Dummy Variable = 1 if respondent reported being the target of a DoD discrimination incident, 0 otherwise (AFEOS)
EOCLIM	Perception of the quality of the EO climate (1-5) (MEOCS)
MILDISC	Dummy Variable = 1 if respondent reported being the victim of military discrimination, 0 otherwise (MEOCS)
ASIAN	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is Asian, 0 otherwise
BLACK	Dummy Variable: Value = 1 if respondent is Black; 0 otherwise
HISP	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is Hispanic, 0 otherwise
NATAM	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is Native American, 0 otherwise
FEMALE	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is female, 0 otherwise
USAF	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is in the Air Force, 0 otherwise
USN	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is in the Navy, 0 otherwise
USMC	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is in the Marines, 0 otherwise
USCG	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent is in the Coast Guard, 0 otherwise
PAYGRAD2	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent's paygrade is E5-E9, 0 otherwise (AFEOS)/ Value =1 if respondent's paygrade is E4-E9, 0 otherwise (MEOCS)
PAYGRAD3	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent's paygrade is WO1-WO5 or O1-O3, 0 otherwise
PAYGRAD4	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent's paygrade is O4-O6, 0 otherwise
SOMECOL	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent has some college education, 0 otherwise
COLDEG	Dummy Variable: Value =1 if respondent has a college degree, 0 otherwise

APPENDIX B

Proposed Modifications/Additions to the MEOCS

101. I have personally experienced an incident(s) of discrimination (racial, sexual, sexual harassment) directed at me from *military* sources (including civilians employed by the military) WITHIN THE LAST 12 MONTHS.

1 = YES

2 = NO

- 101a. The type(s) of incidents I have experienced involved the following dimensions of my job:

Yes

No

N/A

Evaluation

Assignments

Promotion

Training

Punishment

**Together or Separate?
Newspaper Coverage of Gender-Integrated Training,
1997-2000**

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Abstract

Women and men have served in the defense of this country since the wars of the 18th century, but the concept of gender-integrated or mixed training is relatively new to the American military forces. The purpose of this study was to examine newspaper coverage of the issue of gender-integrated training in the military. This paper presents a brief background of women in the military Services, evolving training policies, including pros and cons of gender-integrated training, roles of the press, recommendations of panels that examined the integrated-training issue, and a review of news coverage. Then the issues and news items are analyzed and summarized, followed by conclusions and suggestions. Finally, a pilot survey was conducted among persons studying to be equal opportunity advisors at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. The students were administered a 15-item questionnaire dealing with issues raised by news media coverage of gender-integrated training. Men and women agreed that gender- integrated training should continue.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Together or Separate? Newspaper Coverage of Gender-Integrated Training, 1997-2000

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Introduction

President Harry S. Truman on July 26, 1948, issued Executive Order 9981 stating "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible." Truman directed creation of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (also known as the Fahy Committee). Its purpose was "to examine the rules, procedures, and practices in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures, and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order" (Wolk, 1998). Truman's executive order formally began the long process of integration of women into most military occupational specialties. The military Services have compiled a record of providing equal opportunity often exceeding the progress of civilian society, stated the executive summary of the Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey released in 1999 (Scarville, et al.).

Also enacted in 1948, the Women's Armed Service Integration Act (WASIA) permitted women to become part of the regular forces but restricted their numbers to 2 percent and limited the rank and duties of women. No women could be generals or admirals, only one woman in each service could be a colonel or captain, and women could command only female units. Women had held temporary duty status or reserve status up to this time, and the WASIA provided for both regular and reserve duty status for women throughout the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. While men received special pay and benefits for having spouses and children, women had to leave the Services if they became pregnant (Sadler, 1999). Since 1948, many changes have occurred in women's roles and status in the military. This research examines one facet of those changes.

Purpose of This Study

Women and men have served in the defense of this country since the wars of the 18th century, but the concept of gender-integrated or mixed training is relatively new to American military forces. The purpose of this study was to examine newspaper coverage of the issue of gender-integrated training in the military during 1997-2000. This paper presents background information, followed by a discussion of the contents of news reports. News items were divided into the categories of news stories and commentaries. Editorials and opinion columns fell into

the commentary category. This paper presents a brief background of women in the military Services, evolving training policies, including pros and cons of gender-integrated training, roles of the press, recommendations of panels that examined the integrated-training issue, and a review of news coverage. The issues and news items are analyzed and summarized, followed by conclusions and suggestions. Finally, a pilot survey was conducted among persons studying to be equal opportunity advisors at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. The students were administered a questionnaire dealing with issues raised by news media coverage of gender-integrated training.

Women and the Military

The WASIA authorized regular and reserve status for women in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. Before then, except as nurses, women could not serve in the regular forces in peacetime. Today, about 200,000 women serve on active duty and make up 14 percent of the force; about 225,000 women serve in the reserve components and comprise 15.5 percent of their strength (Borlik, 1998). Today's military women are doctors, lawyers, pilots, equipment operators, air traffic controllers, paratroopers, forklift operators and military police, but women haven't always enjoyed such prominence in the military. It took more than 220 years and many trials, tribulations, and indignities for women to reach their present plateau in military Service, said retired Air Force Brigadier General Wilma L. Vaught, president of the board of directors of the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation (Williams, 1998).

To place women's roles in the modern military in perspective, it is important to note the concept of women serving in the military is not a new phenomenon. Over the past two centuries, the wartime role society has permitted women to take has slowly expanded to include a formal military role, even in peacetime (Dansby, et al., 2001). It is important for military women today to be aware of their history, said General Vaught, quoting a Chinese maxim: "When drinking the water, don't forget who dug the well." She added, "Many women don't understand today's military isn't the way it has always been for women." Vaught says it dismays her when women claim all the problems women encountered in the military since the Revolutionary War have been solved -- especially those who say they have never been discriminated against. "They haven't really looked around them and don't really understand that all the problems are not solved," she said. "If they've just come into the military, they may believe there isn't any discrimination. As they get a little further downstream they'll get a little wiser and understand how discrimination is practiced today versus another time." During the American Revolution, when problems of caring for sick and wounded soldiers arose, the Continental Congress authorized General George Washington to hire matrons at a rate of one or two per 100 soldiers. Other women went along with their husbands as nurses, laundresses and cooks. Some women disguised themselves as men and fought as soldiers (Williams, 1998).

The author of *Women in the Civil War* estimated some 400 women served in both armies as soldiers, with other women following their husbands, sons, or fathers to the front lines. Other women served as messengers or worked as spies (Massey, 1966). In her personal account of the war, Mary Livermore of the U.S. Sanitary Commission referred to herself as "teacher, author, wife, mother, army nurse, soldier's friend, lecturer and reformer" (Massey, p. 187). "I find the requirements to serve as a nurse during the Civil War amusing," Vaught said. "They had to be

over 30, plain-looking and had to wear dark clothes. Obviously, they didn't intend for nurses to be too attractive." Those standards were set by Dorothea Dix, a woman the Secretary of War appointed as superintendent of female nurses of the Union Army (Reeves, 1999). Nurses serving the Confederates were assumed to be volunteers -- except for the documented case of Sally Tompkins. The Confederates commissioned her as a captain to run a hospital in Richmond. A famous Union nurse, Mother Mary Ann Bickerdyke, worked tirelessly to care for wounded soldiers on the battlefield and to run soup kitchens as she followed Union forces from battlefield to battlefield (Williams, 1998). Mary Edwards Walker served in the Union Army, first as a nurse and then a doctor. She was a prisoner of war and the first woman to receive the Medal of Honor. Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman served as nurses for the Union Army (Reeves, p. 16).

During the Spanish-American War, the Daughters of the American Revolution recruited women to work for the Army as contract nurses. No nurses died from combat, but 13 died from typhoid fever. The women did so well, the Army formed a permanent Army Nurse Corps in 1901, and the Navy followed suit in 1908. Both Services set professional nursing qualification standards, but the women received no rank, no command authority, and no retirement plan. When the Navy Nurse Corps was authorized, only 20 women were included in its ranks. In 1909, the Red Cross Nursing Service was founded to provide a reserve of trained nurses for the two military nursing corps and the Red Cross (Reeves, 1999).

The Navy broke its nurse-only tradition during World War I by accepting women as yeomen. About 12,500 women, including some 17-year-old graduates of finishing schools and clerical schools, were recruited to perform clerical duties. Women were accepted into the Naval Reserve and given rank. Most were almost immediately promoted to yeoman first class, whereas men had to work their way up through the ranks. The Army sent about 300 women in uniform to France as Signal Corps telephone operators. "They were promised they'd become regular Army soldiers and receive the same veterans status as men, but that didn't happen," General Vaught said. Those women later waged a 58-year-long battle to get what they'd earned, she said, and most were dead by the time Congress made good on the promises in 1977. Shortly after World War I, the Army gave its nurses relative rank up to major, but they could not command men (Williams, 1998). Altogether, approximately 23,000 Army and Navy nurses served during World War I (Reeves, 1999). About 90,000 women eventually went overseas to support the soldiers, according to the Women's Overseas Service League, founded in 1921 to help women who served. Only 33,000 were officially enrolled in the Services (Smith, 1998).

During World War II, thousands of women joined the Women's Army Corps; the Navy WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service); the WASPs (Women Airforce Service Pilots); the Naval Reserve; the Marines; and the Coast Guard Women's Reserve, the SPARs (from the Service's motto, "Semper Paratus," "always prepared"). Initially, the Army put women into the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, meaning they were not part of the regular Army, and they had ranks different from the men. The Army changed it to the Women's Army Corps, where WACs had regular rank just like the men. The Army Nurse Corps kept their relative rank until late in the war. "Again, women's acceptance by the military was crisis-driven," Vaught noted. The WASIA codified women's status as it was at the end of World War II. "It did give women rank and a permanent place in the Services in wartime and peacetime,"

Vaught said (Williams, 1998). During the Korean Conflict, nurses served with Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH) units to treat wounded soldiers, who were later moved to Navy hospital ships for further treatment and evacuation. The new military nursing service of the Air Force received introduction by fire during the Korean War. By 1953, nearly 3,000 nurses were serving in the Air Force (Reeves, 1999).

In 1951, the Defense Advisory Committee for Women in the Services (DACOWITS) was established by Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall to provide recommendations relevant to the optimum utilization of women in America's Armed Forces and on quality of life issues impacting the mission readiness of military women. Women were prohibited from becoming generals or admirals until President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Public Law 90-130 on November 8, 1967. The measure opened women's promotions to general and flag ranks. As the Vietnam War wound down and the all-volunteer force came along in the early 1970s, women's value to the military became recognized more, General Vaught said. "It was tough for women in the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s, and it will be tough for women in the next century," she said. "But women proved they could do the job as well as most men. They've gained the respect they've deserved all along" (Williams, 1998).

Between 1972 and 1978, many changes occurred in training and opportunities for women. With the end of the draft in June 1973 and the change to the All-Volunteer Force, women made up 2 percent of the total force, and women were breaking gender barriers. For example, Navy women with children were allowed to stay on active duty (Reeves, 1999). Services turned to women to help supply the needed volunteers. Among reasons for this increase in the number of women in the Services were: the end of the draft, a decline in the number of eligible men, "baby boomers" growing too old for recruitment, and the recruitment of more women volunteers. In 1973, Congress disestablished the Women's Reserves and authorized women to enter the regular Coast Guard. DACOWITS applied pressure to equalize presence of servicewomen and in 1974 Congress rescinded the higher enlistment age for women as the Services gradually began to equalize other standards. The Air Force, Navy, and Coast Guard integrated their basic training, but the Army vacillated – consolidating boot camp, then returning to gender-segregated training, then going back to mixed-recruit training. The Marine Corps retained separate boot camps for men and women, but increased weapons and combat-skills training for enlisted women (Sadler, 1999).

Women's roles and assignments continued to change during Desert Storm. The issue of women in combat was heightened even more than in World War II, as advanced technology used in the war obscured areas of combat and non-combat for the approximately 41,000 female troops who participated. Desert Shield/Storm was the first major deployment since Vietnam and the largest deployment of military women ever. Women were inextricably involved in the war effort. Throughout Desert Storm, women performed flight operations within the combat zone; a number of women participated in support and rescue assignments as physically demanding as combat and involving significant risk. Women were excluded from combat; nevertheless, they were assigned posts positioning them in or near the line of fire as the "front" changed often and non-combat units regularly took casualties (Peach, 1996). Despite earlier concerns, Desert Storm did not result in high casualty rates for the U.S. military. Almost 300 persons died from their participation in Desert Storm with battle deaths (148) equivalent to non-battle deaths.

Fifteen women died as a result of the war: five killed in action and 10 from other causes (Reeves, 1999). Although the Gulf War was a catalyst for change in aviation, ground combat remains closed. However, the female proportion of troops in overseas operations is increasing: women were 2 percent of the forces in Grenada in 1983; 4 percent in Panama in 1989; and more than 8 percent in the Gulf War in 1991 (Sadler, 1999).

During 1989-1999, the percentage of women for all Services increased from 10.8 to 14.2 with the Air Force having the highest average percentage of women with 15.9, and the Marines having the lowest percentage with 5.0 (DEOMI, 2000b). More than 30 percent of enlisted women were in occupations in the functional support administration area, while 35 percent of female officers were classified as medical (DEOMI, 2000a). In 2001, more than 90 percent of Army and Marine Corps occupations are open to women, but the major units of infantry, artillery, tanks, and Special Forces remain closed to women. Over time, remnants of the combat-exclusion rule might erode as women continue to move closer to the battle lines (Sadler, 1999).

Evolving Training Policies

As women gradually continued to take more active roles in training for and participating in combat, much of the training became more gender integrated or mixed. Over the last 30 years, women have increased from 2 percent to 14.2 percent of military personnel. As women increased their presence and roles in the military, some of the old guard among military and civilian leaders strongly resisted further integration of women in the Armed Forces. Proponents of gender-integrated training argue soldiers who fight together should train together (Johnson, 1998). The Army, Navy, and Air Force are still struggling with recommendations the nation's Armed Services should separate men and women for much of basic and advanced training and house them in separate barracks. On the other hand, women's rights advocates criticize the same recommendations by opposing the idea the military return to segregating women and men (Dansby, et al., 2001).

The Air Force began mixed-gender training in 1976 (Christenson, 1999). After conducting trials in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Army in 1993 began employing gender-integrated training (GIT) full-time (Shenon, 1998). Women and men work with each other throughout high school and will eventually work together in the Army. So why, the leaders reasoned, should basic training be any different? The Army's senior leadership decided GIT was the way to go. Skeptics thought it would not work, but with the training program in place and working, GIT experienced very few ripples, according to *Soldiers* magazine (Lane, 1995). The Navy began integrated training in 1994.

Following a scandal involving widespread charges of sexual harassment and assault at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md., Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., and other military installations in 1996-1997, some U.S. Congress members called for separate training of military men and women. In March 1997, Army Chief of Staff General Dennis J. Reimer told *Soldiers* he favored gender-integrated basic and advanced individual training over separated-gender training. "I think the issue is that males and females are going to have to exist together in the United States Army," Reimer said. "We have to find a way to overcome these tensions. My view is that you start that early on. All the studies I've seen have convinced me that male performance and

female performance are increased and improved if we start [gender-integrated training] at the very beginning. I think we have to realize that we're an integrated Army and that we have males and females serving together. And we need to stress that from the very beginning" (Gilmore, 1997). Johnson (1998) contended training men and women together enhances military effectiveness. Women are a critical part of our military forces. The Air Force has trained men and women together during basic training for more than 20 years, has the largest percentage of women of all the Services (16%) and has the greatest percentage of positions open to both sexes (97%). The Army and Navy noticed a decline in complaints of sexual harassment after they began gender-integrated basic training several years ago (Johnson, 1998).

Whether it's learning to use a protective mask, shoot a rifle, or merely to salute, all potential soldiers have to learn the basic skills before heading off to advanced individual training. When it comes to transforming a civilian into a soldier, it doesn't much matter what gender the trainee is -- everyone has to go through the same process, stated *Soldiers* (Lane, 1995). The debate, wrote Dansby (2001), is really about whether military traditions and standards are under siege; it's about whether women have "*feminized*" the military, and whether women soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines should receive special accommodations. He wrote, "This begs the question: *Is the military closer to figuring out how to persuade men and women to get along better?*"

Kassebaum Baker Committee

Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen on June 27, 1997, announced the appointment of the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues, an independent panel comprised of 11 citizens and chaired by former U. S. Senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker, a Republican from Kansas. The committee's mission was to assess training programs of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps and to determine how best to train a gender-integrated, all-volunteer force to ensure they are disciplined, effective, and ready (Kassebaum Baker, 1997).

Other committee members were: Retired Vice Admiral Richard Allen, USN, former Commander, Naval Air Force, U. S. Atlantic Fleet; Mr. John Dancy, former broadcast journalist with NBC News; Retired Lieutenant General Robert H. Forman, USA, former Deputy Commanding General, Training and Doctrine Command; Retired Major General Donald R. Gardner, USMC, former Commander of III Marine Expeditionary Force, Japan; Retired Major General Marcelite J. Harris, USAF, former Director of Maintenance, Headquarters, USAF; the Honorable Deval L. Patrick, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; Dr. Condoleezza Rice, Provost, Stanford University; Ms. Ginger Lee Simpson, Retired U.S. Navy Enlisted, former Director, U.S. Navy Senior Enlisted Academy; Dr. Carolyn Ellis Staton, Associate Provost of the University of Mississippi, and former Vice-Chair of DACOWITS; and Professor Marilyn V. Yarbrough, School of Law, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

On December 16, 1997, the committee reported to Secretary Cohen. The chair stated her committee was "pleased to submit our final report, which contains recommendations on how best to train our gender-integrated, all-volunteer force to ensure that it is disciplined, effective, and ready. The recommendations are based on our assessment of the current initial entry training programs of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines" (Kassebaum Baker,

1997). For six months, the committee looked at the full cycle for the recruit, starting at the recruiting station, through basic and advanced training. The committee talked to newly assigned service members and their supervisors at their operational units. Committee members traveled to 16 military sites, including major training facilities of all Services. Committee members talked to more than 1,000 recruits, 500 instructors, 300 first-term service members, and 275 supervisors in operational units. The committee's intention was to contribute to the effort to craft a sound policy for training young men and women today for tomorrow's missions, wrote Kassebaum Baker (1997).

The report continued: regarding gender-integrated training specifically, as the Secretary of Defense noted when he announced the committee's establishment, the problems at Aberdeen and elsewhere have raised questions about the success of gender-integrated training. The committee believes it is important to put gender-integrated training in perspective. Perhaps most importantly, the committee underscores that women in the military have been proudly and proficiently serving this nation for years. The committee believes that the increasing number of women in expanded roles is an important reason why the United States is able to maintain an effective and efficient volunteer military force (Kassebaum Baker). All Services conduct gender-integrated training at some point during the initial entry training cycle, the report stated. The Army, Navy, and Air Force have gender-integrated programs in basic and advanced training. The Marines train separately in basic training, but have a gender-integrated 17-day follow-on program and gender-integrated advanced training. Contrary to public perception, Kassebaum Baker wrote, a minority of male recruits routinely train with females in basic training. This is, in part, due to the percentage of female recruits and how training units are grouped. Approximately 50 percent of the Army's male recruits, 25 percent of the Navy's male recruits, and 40 percent of the Air Force's male recruits routinely train with females in basic training. In follow-on training, all the Services conduct gender-integrated training, and women are dispersed more widely throughout skill-training courses. Nevertheless, at least 30 percent of the Army male trainees and 25 percent of the Marine male trainees train in all-male units in advanced training because they are in combat arms specialties. Consequently, an evaluation of gender-integrated training is only part of any assessment of effectiveness of the overall training programs, she stated. The committee made recommendations regarding gender-integration in training and other issues impacting effectiveness of the training programs. The committee intended for its recommendations to be viewed as a complete package, since training is a "building-block process beginning with the quality of the recruit" (Kassebaum Baker).

The committee recommended the smallest units in recruit training be same-sex, and more resources and care go into selecting and training recruit trainers and to recruit more female trainers. The panel strongly supported a gender-integrated military force, said Kassebaum Baker. However, the committee considered the "most contentious issue" to be gender integration at the lowest level training units. This is the platoon in the Army, recruit division in the Navy and flight in the Air Force. The panel recommended these be same-sex units. Members stated they believed this would have little impact on gender-integrated training (Garamone, 1997).

Other recommendations included:

- Toughen physical fitness requirements and expand instruction on nutrition and wellness.
- End the split option for reserve component soldiers. Under this option the Army allows reserve component soldiers to undergo training at one time and advanced training later.
- Increase support-group staffing and enhance availability to recruits.
- End the Recruiters Assistant Program.
- Eliminate "stress cards" in the Navy. Stress cards are lists of sailors' rights. Recruits can pull one out if they think recruit division commanders are being too tough on them.
- Enforce policies to eradicate disparaging references to gender.
- Teach consistent rules on fraternization.
- Enforce tough punishments for false accusations regarding sexual harassment and misconduct.
- Improve values training in all initial entry training programs.

Calling it a "good report," Secretary Cohen turned it over to the military Services for reviews and responses within 90 days. In March 1998, Cohen deferred a decision on gender integration at the lowest levels of basic training, but told the Services to implement most other recommendations made by the Kassebaum Baker panel. Speaking to reporters at the Pentagon on March 16, Cohen said he told the Services to establish incentives to attract the best trainers, to make basic training physically tougher and to ensure separate billeting -- if not separate buildings -- for male and female recruits. A reporter asked: "Are you saying that gender integrated training in and of itself will be maintained?" Secretary Cohen replied, "Yes. Until I see what the results are going to be from these changes, then I reserve that judgment. But I think it's important that we take all of the steps that have been outlined" (Cohen, 1998). The Secretary said gender-integrated training would continue as it was, until he and other military leaders assessed results that the recommended changes would bring. Cohen said the military would institute "about 95 percent" of the panel's recommendations and continue to assess the results.

The Services agreed on these recommendations of the Kassebaum Baker panel:

- Add more female recruiters and trainers.
 - Devise better selection processes for trainers and more clarity in training authority.
 - Institute training to produce professional relationships between genders.
 - Place more emphasis on core military values.
 - Develop more consistent training standards between the genders.
 - Put more emphasis on patriotism and the challenge of the military in advertising.
- (Garamone, 1998)

In June 1998, Secretary Cohen approved Service plans for continuation of gender integration in elemental training units (platoons, divisions, flights) as the optimum training format for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. He approved continuation of the established Marine

Corps policy for gender-separate basic training with a gender-integrated follow-on program. In reaching his decisions, Secretary Cohen said: "With their different missions, traditions and conditions of service, some differences in the ways the Services conduct their basic training are appropriate and desirable" (DoD, 1998).

The Blair Commission

While the Kassebaum Baker panel commissioned by the Secretary of Defense was still collecting its data, the U. S. Congress appointed another group, referred to as the Blair Commission. The Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues was established under Title V, Subtitle F of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998. The mandate was set forth in Public Law 105-85 Section 562(b)(2) and (e)(2), enacted on November 18, 1997. The 10-member commission was composed of five commissioners appointed by the House Committee on National Security and five commissioners appointed by the Senate Committee on Armed Services. The commission was chaired by Anita Blair, a Washington, D.C., attorney who was Executive Vice President of the Independent Women's Forum, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to research and public education on issues concerning women. Other commission members were Honorable Frederick F. Y. Pang, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Force Management Policy, vice chairman; Dr. Nancy Cantor, Provost and Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of Michigan; Retired Lieutenant General George R. Christmas, former Deputy Chief of Staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Headquarters Marine Corps; Retired Command Sergeant Major Robert A. Dare, Jr., former Command Sergeant Major, United States Army, Forces Command; Retired Lieutenant General William M. Keys, former Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic; Thomas Moore, Director of International Studies at The Heritage Foundation; Dr. Charles Moskos, Professor of Sociology at Northwestern University; Honorable Barbara Spyridon Pope, President of The Pope Group; and Dr. Mady Wechsler Segal, Professor of Sociology and Associate Dean at the University of Maryland.

The mission of Blair's group was to review requirements and restrictions regarding cross-gender relationships of members of the Armed Forces, to review basic training programs of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps and to make recommendations on improvements to those programs, requirements, and restrictions. The committee focused on operational readiness as it relates to recruits and Initial Entry Training (IET), with emphasis on basic training. In March 1999, the commission presented a status report to Congress, stating: "The Commission concludes that the Services are providing the soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines required by the operating forces to carry out their assigned missions; therefore, each Service should be allowed to continue to conduct basic training in accordance with its current policies. This includes the manner in which basic trainees are housed and organized into units. This conclusion does not imply the absence of challenges and issues associated with the dynamics found in a gender integrated basic training environment. Therefore, improvements to Initial Entry Training that have been made by the Services or are currently being considered must be sustained and continually reviewed" (Blair, 1999).

Commission members split on the gender-integrated training issue with six members voting yea, one abstaining (Moskos) and three voting nay (Blair, Keys, Moore). Moskos

explained, “I was particularly struck by the overwhelming consensus among trainers that something is seriously flawed in gender-integrated training. At the same time, it must be noted that recruits in gender-integrated settings are much more positive about IET than are the trainers. But we ought not to ignore the recurrent theme among trainers that a core set of problems does derive from gender-integrated settings. These include physical strength differences between the sexes, maintenance of privacy of the sexes, sexual distractions, and perceptions of double standards applied to men and women in disciplinary actions and accusations of sexual harassment” (Blair, 1999). Moskos concluded that the bottom line must be improving military readiness.

Commissioners Blair, Keys, and Moore stated they agreed with Moskos, but they wrote separately to add, not only is there evidence of serious problems in gender-integrated training, but there is also substantial evidence gender-separate training produces superior results. The Marine Corps is the only service employing gender-separate basic training. The Army, Navy, and Air Force made it clear to the Blair Commission they are satisfied with their current training and do not plan to change from gender-integrated to gender-separate basic training, even in view of the Kassebaum Baker recommendations (the vast majority of which were readily adopted by those Services). The commissioners stated the Army, Navy, and Air Force should (a) collect data to permit objective evaluation of existing gender-integrated training, and (b) test alternate models to generate comparative data on the military effectiveness of gender-integrated versus gender-separate training. These studies should be performed under the auspices of qualified, impartial outside organizations, they wrote (Blair, 1999).

When the Blair Commission presented its status report to Congress, the chair made her own statement. Basic training, she said, whether gender-separate or gender-integrated, presents challenges. Blair said gender-integrated training entails special problems that simply do not arise in gender-separate training. These problems revolve around the difficulties of providing appropriate privacy for both sexes, accommodating fundamental physiological differences, and controlling sexual conduct. There is no way to tell whether benefits of gender-integration outweigh costs because none of the Services has compared alternatives or evaluated the costs and benefits. Indeed, each of the Services has told the Commission it is not conducting, and has no plans to conduct, any studies to evaluate the effectiveness of gender-integrated as compared with gender-separate training. After calling for an evaluation by an independent organization, Blair discussed some “challenges” of gender-integrated training: confusion; inconvenience; loss of formal contacts; additional stress; “no talk, no touch;” and loss of discipline. Separating male and female recruits in basic training units will assist them in learning discipline and self-control, the most valuable foundation on which to build maturity and judgment, Blair stated (U. S. House, 1999).

Roles of the Press

Representatives of news media report on events such as historic “firsts” mentioned above, as well as training and deployments, on a regular basis. Some reporters are assigned to cover the Pentagon as their routine beat, and they would report and analyze reports from the panels examining training. Reporters are the first link in a chain of “gatekeepers” who sort facts and stories, allowing certain details through the gates for publication or broadcast (White, 1950).

"Gatekeeping" is an important concept in communication theory and research as well as in the practice of journalism. Psychologist Kurt Lewin coined the term in 1947 to describe the process of family members at the dinner table. David Manning White in a 1950 study of one editor's news choices borrowed the term "gatekeeper." What reaches news consumers in any given locale is but a grain in the sand of world events. The gatekeeping approach to news assumes actors along the news-flow chain (information officers, reporters, wire editors, copy editors) use certain criteria to select from myriad events what will be passed on to the next link in the chain (Pasadeos, et al., 1998). This researcher has found that sometimes the media actually use small percentages of the available news.

Communication through the mass media is a fundamental component of recognition of many social problems (Arkin, 1998). Mass media report, reflect and influence public opinion. Arkin wrote mass media objectives are: to entertain or inform, cover short-term events, deliver salient pieces of information, reflect society, address personal concerns, and make a profit. The five central functions of the mass media, wrote Wilson and Gutierrez (1995), are:

- surveillance, the sentinel or lookout role,
- correlation, the interpretation and linking function which helps audiences understand what is happening,
- transmission, the socialization function which defines the society's norms and values,
- entertainment, the function for enjoyment and diversion, and
- economic service, the function which deals primarily with delivering an audience for advertising messages.

Most reputable news media in the United States advocate the social responsibility theory of the press in which media seek to uphold their obligation to inform and educate the public -- the audience members. Media serve a "watchdog" function to inform the public of wrongdoings in government agencies, such as the military Services. Most journalists strive to be fair and accurate, but sometimes they let the drive to meet deadlines or to top the competition take control. Journalists try to follow the principle of objectivity. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) pointed out one function of objectivity is to protect a reporter, editor, or publisher from criticism. In effect, objectivity mitigates gatekeeping bias (Stone, et al., 1999). "Whatever else can be said about objectivity, it has become ingrained in the language and culture of American journalism." Objectivity still forms the basis for the most common model of news reporting and writing prevailing in newspapers (Beasley & Mirando, 1998). Walter Lippmann (1961) wrote: "The press is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restless about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision. Men cannot do the work of the world by this light alone." Along with the media responsibility to keep Americans fully informed comes the obligation to provide a full and open discussion of public matters, wrote Rowse (2000).

Readers and viewers might perceive news reports as negative because they point out flaws in a system. However, it may be a matter of perspective. Journalists consider news values when gathering information and reporting stories. Stovall (1998) lists news values as impact, timeliness, prominence, proximity, conflict, bizarre or unusual, and currency. The American Society of Newspaper Editors stated credibility is based on "enduring journalistic values -- balance, fairness and wholeness; accuracy/authenticity; accessibility; leadership -- and

behavioral factors such as business practices and journalists' attitudes and behaviors" (Christopher, 1999). Since many Americans have either served in the military or know someone who has served, and the military is responsible for national defense, many news judgment factors apply to news reports about the military. Newspaper readers pay attention to such articles. News media influence and reflect public opinion, including those of members of the Armed Services, their friends and families, and the American public. Caesar Andrews, editor of Gannett News Service, advised news reporters to use these standards: "Check the facts. Insist on fair newsgathering. Think through why there's a need to publish. Then print only what you can explain and defend as news" (Media Leaders Forum, 1999).

Methodology

A distinguishing characteristic of communication research is its focus on human symbolic exchanges of verbal and nonverbal messages. The methodology used in this study was content analysis, a research method or measurement technique involving a systematic study of the content of communication. Berelson defined content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952). Content analysis can be used in research seeking to explain or describe communication. Its advantages lie in its ability to describe the messages under study, to make inferences about the creator of the message, and in providing a heuristic function to research (Stacks & Hocking, 1997). Content analyses appear frequently in journalism and mass communication journals. In fact, 40 percent of the articles appearing in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* in the 1990s were content analyses (Stone, et al., 1999).

The purpose of this study was to examine newspaper coverage of the issue of gender-integrated training in the military. The study presents comparisons of the contents of news reports. Newspaper items were divided into the categories of news stories and commentaries with editorials and opinion columns falling into the commentary category. The unit of analysis was the news item. This examination includes newspaper coverage of a period spanning from 1997 through 2000. Issues and news items were analyzed and summarized, followed by conclusions and suggestions. In this case, the universe of information was examined, as opposed to a representative sample. Another judgment call was whether the story's emphasis was positive or negative regarding the gender-integrated issue. Results were then tabulated, analyzed and interpreted. Holsti's reliability formula was applied to ascertain inter-coder reliability (Stacks & Hocking, 1997). A standardized coding form was created, and a copy is in Appendix A.

Copies of news reports and commentaries covering the period 1997-2000 were obtained by searching the Internet. Additional copies of press clippings were obtained from the DoD public affairs office and the vertical files of the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. Expected results were that journalists would emphasize some key actions, such as when Secretary Cohen appointed the Kassebaum Baker panel, when Congress appointed the Blair Commission and when the groups reported. When politicians took stands for or against the issue, they would attract media attention. This researcher expected reporting in most cases to rely heavily upon information supplied to them from primary sources. Various newspaper stories and commentaries are quoted as examples.

Also, a pilot survey was conducted among individuals studying to be equal opportunity advisors at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. The students were administered a 15-item questionnaire dealing with issues raised by news media coverage of gender-integrated training.

Research questions posed were:

- R1: To what extent would newspapers emphasize information about gender-integrated training?
- R2: Do the news reports appear to be accurate?
- R3: Did press commentaries favor gender-integrated training or oppose it?
- R4: Will the number of articles and commentaries decrease each year?
- R5: Regarding the survey: Will there be significant differences in opinions between men and women, African Americans and Caucasians, and persons who completed gender-integrated training and those who did not?

Findings

This section of the paper presents findings regarding newspaper coverage of gender-integrated training in the military Services between 1997 and 2000. A total of 113 news stories and 36 commentaries were examined from the four-year period. This researcher predicted the number of items would be highest during 1997, when the topic reached its peak in controversy, and would decrease each year as interest in the issue decreased.

1997 News Stories

For 1997, 52 news articles were examined. A February 8 article from Reuters news service printed in *The Orlando Sentinel* was headlined: "Army wants to maintain coed training." Its deck head stated, "Some lawmakers say male and female recruits should be separated." On March 11, *USA Today* quoted Secretary Cohen as saying he would not order the Army, Navy and Air Force to return to single-sex training without compelling evidence it would solve problems (Komarow, 1997). Also in March, *The New York Times* ran a feature about the Navy's boot camp at Great Lakes, Ill., where trainees "are separated only in bunking, bathrooms and showers" and the focus is on producing quality sailors, regardless of race or gender (Johnson, 1997). On March 17, the *Air Force Times* ran a story, "Cohen assesses male-female training." After visiting Lackland Air Force Base, Cohen said he found no compelling evidence to warrant changing the current system (Wilson, 1997). In April 1997, the Marines began their "first foray into co-ed combat training" with the new Marine Combat Training Course at Camp Lejeune, N.C. (Fuentes, 1997). Meanwhile, the Marines announced the Corps would continue gender-segregated basic training (Bowman, 1997).

A strong proponent of gender-segregated training was U. S. Representative Roscoe G. Bartlett, Republican-Maryland, and a member of the House National Security Committee. He said gender-integrated training "is neither in the best interest of women or the best interest of

military preparedness” (Scarborough, 1997a). In order to remove “temptation,” Bartlett sponsored an amendment to the defense authorization bill, and he eventually found 125 co-sponsors. Senator Olympia J. Snowe, Republican-Maine, introduced a bill to keep the status quo (Schmitt, 1997). At the same time that Congress and the Senate were to begin debating the legislation, results of a 1995 study by the U. S. Army Research Institute were released. The survey indicated drill sergeants did not believe they were taught how to train women as well as men in the same basic training (Scarborough, 1997b). General William Hartzog, Chief of Army Training and Doctrine Command, in late May 1997, told reporters he stood by gender-integrated training (Naylor, 1997). The same issue of *Army Times* carried a story about Senator Robert Byrd, Democrat-West Virginia, planning to submit legislation calling for separate training and an independent commission to study gender issues. “As the House National Security Committee worked June 11 on the 1998 defense authorization bill, Representative Bartlett conceded he did not have the votes to force an immediate change, so he settled for a compromise ordering Congress to debate the issue again next year after an independent panel reviews military training” (Maze, 1997).

On June 27, 1997, Secretary Cohen announced the Kassebaum Baker panel. He said he was concerned some might view changes recommended by the panel, including members of Congress, as a setback to women (Associated Press, 1997). In July 1997, the *Army Times* reported Cohen said his visits to training bases had not provided any evidence to segregate training by gender. The same story stated: “All four service chiefs have come out against congressionally mandated gender segregation of recruit training” (Compart, 1997a). The *Navy Times* reported on July 21, 1997, neither Representative Bartlett nor Senator Byrd would introduce legislation concerning separate training, but they wanted a comprehensive study of gender issues in the military. Kassebaum Baker said her panel would keep an open mind.

USA Today on September 15, 1997, ran three stories about the integrated-segregated training issue. On Sept. 29, 1997, *Navy Times* reprinted a *USA Today* article titled “Separate but equal,” telling how the Marine Corps “sticks with what leaders say has been working all along.” The article points out how during the previous year there were nine sexual harassment cases involving recruits and permanent personnel at Parris Island, South Carolina, and none among recruits (Stone, 1997b). In October 1997, the *Washington Post* headlined a story about a report from the DACOWITS chair regarding a visit to Fort Jackson, South Carolina and Asia “Persistent Army gender issues cited” (Priest, 1997). Chair Judith Youngman said her group found gender discrimination, harassment and – in one instance – a hostile environment at military installations.

A Nov. 10, 1997, story in *Navy Times* stated the Kassebaum Baker panel was still debating the fundamental question of whether to recommend gender-integrated training. The next week a story appeared about the Congressional commission appointed to look mainly at gender-integrated training. The *Army Times* pointed out the commission seemed to duplicate the work of the Kassebaum Baker panel (Compart, 1997b). In early December 1997, articles appeared about the military practice “Don’t look, don’t touch” and how Service members were concerned about being accused of sexual harassment if they even looked at a woman for a few seconds. “Don’t look, don’t touch” was mentioned in the Kassebaum Baker report released on December 16, 1997, but the panel’s recommendation about gender-separate basic training drew

the headlines. Some examples are: “Single-sex boot camps urged,” *USA Today*; “Civilian Committee on military favors separate female training,” *Washington Post*; “Conservatives salute idea of ending coed basic training,” *Washington Times*; and “Panel’s advice to troops is attacked,” *The New York Times*.

U.S. Representative Carolyn Maloney, Democrat-New York, called the recommendations “a slap in the face to women” and urged more emphasis be placed on improving training and discipline in integrated units (Myers, 1997). During the period between the release of the report and the end of the year, articles appeared showing how well gender-segregated basic training works for the Marines and how gender-integrated training works for the Air Force. Other articles referred to “gender woes” and the panel’s referring to mixing sexes as a “distraction.” The reports were well received by conservatives and criticized by women’s groups (Stone, 1997c).

1997 Commentaries

Eighteen commentaries for the year 1997 were examined. The opinions can be divided into five in favor of gender-integrated training, eight against gender-integrated or for same-gender training, and five were neutral. Appearing under a headline “The battle of the sexes” in the *Air Force Times* in June, a column by Representative Bartlett defended single-sex training, while General Ronald R. Fogleman, Air Force Chief of Staff, wrote how integrated training helps build team-work. The Congressman called for an end to integrated training and to “go back to what works” (Bartlett, 1997). Fogleman referred to gender-integrated training as the “vital first step in fostering equal opportunity and building the teamwork so vital to our effectiveness as a fighting force (Fogleman, 1997).

Other opinions favoring gender-integrated training were headlined: “Segregation no solution to harassment in military,” “Panel: ‘No talk, no touch’ is no good,” “Proposal violates Army foundation,” and “Segregation is a lousy idea” by Representative Maloney. Separating the sexes would make women second-class soldiers and wreck morale, she wrote (Maloney, 1997). Her column in *USA Today* opposed William Hamilton, who stated, “Let’s end this wasteful and disruptive social experiment. We should train women for their actual jobs rather than how to kill with a bayonet” (Hamilton, 1997). One of the strongest opinions supporting separate training came from the *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph*: “We need trained killers. In such an environment females are a distraction. On the battlefield they’ll be a liability. Rather than accommodate the presence of females in fighting units, we should eliminate it. Fortunately, there’s no shortage of opportunities for women in virtually every other area of society” (Rosen, 1997). Perhaps the most attention-getting headline was: “No ‘lust in the dust’ in combat zone” over a column opposing integrated training and women in combat (Dunne, 1997). Endorsing the Kassebaum Baker recommendations, the *Atlanta Journal & Constitution* editorialized that segregated training makes good sense, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* stated a gender-split will make the military more effective. One “neutral” commentary in the *Washington Post*, pointed out most of the panel’s recommendations would take money while the Clinton administration and Congress expected the military to do more for less. The November 1997 issue of *Marine Corps Gazette* included an article discussing unit cohesion and another about gender integrated/segregated training.

1998 News Stories

A total of 43 news stories from 1998 were analyzed. *Navy Times* in January 1998 ran an article, "Different panels, same subject," which mentioned panels probing issues such as sexual harassment, fraternization, adultery, and gender-integrated training. The article referred to Kassebaum Baker's report, the Blair Commission and the continuous review of gender issues by DACOWITS (Compart, 1998a). A few days later, in an interview, General Reimer reiterated support for gender-integrated training and challenged perceptions recruits are not getting adequate training in boot camp (Moniz, 1998). Also in January, DACOWITS released a report from its 20-member panel visit to 12 military training locations. The report showed service members want more integration of sexes (Shenon, 1998). *Navy Times* stated: "DACOWITS' findings put it on a collision course with the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues" (Compart, 1998b). Gender-integrated training was among DACOWITS' Goals for 1998.

News stories in February and March focused on Congress and the Senate's appointees to the Blair Commission. Articles pointed out Blair, a member of Virginia Military Institute's board of visitors, voted against opening VMI to women (Scarborough, 1998) and advocated separating the sexes in basic training (Maze, 1998). On March 17, 1998, Secretary Cohen announced basic training would remain as it had been, but he ordered changes in recruiting, training, and housing for new recruits. An *Air Force Times* article announcing "Coed training will continue" was accompanied by one saying "Basic grows tougher" with a deck headline, "Ask and you shall receive, Lackland recruits learn" (Jordan, 1998).

In May 1998, the House National Security Committee (HNSC) voted to require the Army, Navy, and Air Force to house and train male and female recruits separately beginning by April 1999. Representative Steve Buyer, Republican-Indiana, chairman of the military subcommittee of the HNSC, expected the Blair Commission to submit an interim report by September 1 whether men and women should be segregated in basic training. If the commission were to recommend gender-integrated training, Congress could modify the April 1999 date for policy changes. As debate continued on the topic, Secretary Cohen in July 1998 told Congressional negotiators he might recommend a veto of the defense bill if the Services were forced to change their policies on recruit training. In mid-September, a Congressional conference committee stated men and women could continue training together as long as they were housed separately. Bartlett said the Congressional committee's action "jeopardizes the lives of our young men and women." He wrote: "Congress must ensure that national security, and not equal opportunity, remains the top priority" (Christenson, 1998). Meanwhile, the Coast Guard, part of the Department of Transportation, stated its own study showed "Mixed training suits Coast Guard fine." Women comprise 10% of the Coast Guard (Katz-Stone, 1998).

1998 Commentaries

Seven commentaries from 1998 were examined. An article in *The Diversity Factor* discussed gender integration in the Canadian military, which was mandated to develop a plan to completely integrate women by 1999. The article concluded once diversity and leadership skills

have been learned and connections made, people must be held accountable for their behaviors and their results – in diversity as in every other area (White, 1998). An editorial headlined “Boot Camp and Sex” stated that the Clinton administration seemed to view the military more as a social experiment than as a fighting force. It suggested legislation initiated by Senator Byrd and Representative Bartlett should be followed through. “Both men realize that in war, victory goes not to the most sensitive, but to the best prepared,” stated the *Detroit News* (1998). The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized, “The military should fight wars, not sexism,” calling for a re-evaluation of women’s military roles before the next military conflict (Mersereau, 1998).

What happened at Aberdeen, wrote retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Karen Johnson, was “(if you were listening to certain U.S. Congressmen and Senators) a predictable outcome of training military women and men together. Basic instincts rule! Men can’t control their basic instincts, or submerge the urge to merge, so – remove the women.” In a commentary on the National Organization for Women website, Johnson wrote she agreed with most recommendations the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training made to the Secretary of Defense. However, “the recommendation of training males and females separately at the beginning of their military careers is regressive and does not remedy the problems that led to the formation of this committee,” she stated (Johnson, 1998).

U.S. News & World Report concluded: “If the pentagon doesn’t change the system, Congress could, although denunciation of the (Kassebaum Baker) report by some women in Congress promises at least a few fireworks” (Newman, 1998). In a commentary titled “Common sense and co-ed training,” Elaine Donnelly wrote, “If we fight as we train – burdened with unprecedented disciplinary problems that our potential enemies do not have – America’s armed forces will be in deep trouble” (1998). Sen. Snowe wrote in the *Washington Times*, gender-integrated training improves the performance of men and women in the military and prepares them for the future battles they must fight and win together (Snowe, 1998).

1999 News Stories

An Associated Press story on March 2, 1999, stated that General Accounting Office auditors had concluded it would not cost the military any more money to house male and female recruits in separate barracks. This widely circulated story was 1 of 12 examined for 1999. Two weeks later, the Blair Commission recommended the military continue training male and female recruits in mixed units and barracks. Lawmakers in both houses had been awaiting the commission’s conclusions before acting on proposals for greater separation of the sexes in boot-camp housing and early training (Richter, 1999). In May, DACOWITS urged Secretary Cohen to open more combat slots for women, and the group called for studies of cost and other factors involved in allowing women to serve on submarine crews (Matthews, 1999). Recommendation #1 in the DACOWITS Spring 1999 Issue Book concluded: “As mission readiness is the primary concern of the operating forces, it is also apparent that the continuous study of the issue consumes valuable time and resources. Therefore, current policies should remain in place until there is compelling evidence of systemic failure requiring further review” (DACOWITS, 1999).

When the Blair Commission’s 2,700-page final report was submitted in August 1999 after 15 months of testimony and site visits, *The Washington Times* stated it “may be the final

word in the long debate over mixed-sex training” (Scarborough, 1999). The report said each Service should be allowed to continue to conduct basic training in accordance with its current policies, although some challenges and issues remain. Retired Air Force Col. Frederick Pang, commission vice chairman, was quoted as saying 58% of 2,996 drill sergeants reported that mixed-gender instruction either improved or had no effect on basic training (Christenson, 1999).

1999 Commentaries

Six commentaries were examined from 1999. If the men and women of the Navy are expected to fight together, then they must continue to train together wrote Gunner’s Mate First Class Terry L. Buckman. The services must assign more good leaders to gender-integrated training, he wrote. “Dynamic leadership,” he wrote, “can provide a positive role model over and above the distractions of a gender-integrated military” (Buckman, 1999). A retired Army officer wrote in *USA Today* that women distract from training (Hamilton, 1999). In a commentary titled “Men, women and war” in the *Wall Street Journal*, Stephanie Gutmann wrote that sex integration in initial entry training has devastated morale and recruitment. “Basic training has morphed into something even a veteran who did boot camp in the mid-1980s wouldn’t recognize” (1999). Gutmann’s book, *The Kinder, Gentler Military: Can It Fight?* when it appeared in 2000 was critical of the military’s political correctness.

Writing in the *Washington Times*, Robert Maginnis called the Blair Commission’s decision “a blow to common sense.” He noted that after years of mixed-gender training, the British military found that returning to sex segregation in basic training dramatically cut injuries among women, decreased incidents of sexual misconduct and improved rates of success. The retired Army lieutenant colonel wrote mixed-gender training would have a long-term training impact, contributing to a readiness decline. Problems with mixed-gender basic training are clear, he stated: higher personnel losses, more injuries to female service members, operational readiness weaknesses and ongoing leadership problems (1999). A West Point faculty member wrote in a 15-page article in *Minerva*: “The variables salient for gender integration are categorized as intervening and include: characteristics of the organization, occupational ideology, and individual characteristics. The interaction of these variables leads to a variety of outcomes.” He concluded “at a time when men and women are serving side by side in the majority of Army specialties, to segregate them at initiation could potentially have drastic effects on both performance and attitudes” (Reed, 1999). Reed also suggested some research be conducted about drill sergeants, specifically those who have combat specialties and have limited service with women. Another area for further research is the effect female drill sergeants have on male and female platoons.

2000 News Stories

Six stories about gender-integrated training were located for 2000. One dealt with Marine segregated basic training at Parris Island. Another story in the *Washington Post* told how the October attack on the USS Cole marked the first time that women permanently assigned to a Navy combatant ship have died in an attack on that ship. The story quoted retired Navy Captain Georgia Sadler: “The public understands that people who serve in the military can be killed, regardless of their gender. Thus, the public is taking the deaths of women in stride, and,

rightfully, mourning for all the casualties of the Cole as sailors and heroes” (Ricks & Vogel, 2000).

2000 Commentaries

Among the five commentaries for 2000 was “Gender and the civil-military gap” by Sara E. Lister (2000), former Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, in the January *Proceedings*. Lister discussed a gap between civilian society and the military, and pointed out that the gap creates problems, “but those problems do not justify either a diminution of civilian control or a reduced role for women, as some have maintained.” The author called for the military establishment to recognize that it is responsible for ensuring that every soldier can do his or her job, without interference or harassment because of gender.

Pilot Opinion Survey

To express their opinions to some issues raised by the media in covering the gender-integrated training issue, 56 members of the active-duty Equal Opportunity Advisor Class at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute were surveyed. Preparing to become military equal opportunity advisors, the students receive instruction on gender relations, and they are expected to be knowledgeable of current events. The questionnaire collected basic demographic data such as gender, race/ethnic group, age group, enlisted or officer status. Respondents were asked if they attended gender-integrated training. Response options on the 10 opinion questions ranged from “1 – totally agree” to “5 – totally disagree.” A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix B.

Twenty-two respondents were women, and 34 were men. The racial/ethnic breakdown included one American Indian/Alaskan Native, two Asians or Pacific Islanders, 29 African Americans, three Hispanics, 20 Whites, and one Other. The group included 51 enlisted service members, 4 officers and 1 civilian. Age ranges were: under 25, 1; 25-30, 2; 31-35, 21; 36-40, 20; and over 40, 12. Thirty-nine students responded they did not attend gender-integrated training, while 17 had participated.

The statement “Men and women should be separated during military basic training” received an overall mean of 3.18 with women having a mean of 3.41, leaning toward “moderately disagree.” Men were almost neutral with a 3.03 mean. One-fourth of respondents totally agreed with the statement, while 32 percent totally disagreed with it. When asked if women and men should train together because they work together, women had a mean of 1.91, compared to the men’s mean of 2.26, both “moderately agree.” Half of the respondents totally agreed with the statement.

Responses from men (3.35 mean) and women (3.41 mean) were close on the statement concerning whether men and women should have to meet the same physical training standards. Twenty (35.7 percent) students chose the “moderately disagree” response. Men and women disagreed most about the statement that double standards are used for men (2.82 mean) and women (3.41 mean) during gender-integrated training. A *t* test comparing the differences in means of women and men showed a significant difference in their responses ($p < .05$).

When asked if gender-integrated training will cause a “soft” military, the women scored one of their highest means (4.09) on the survey, moderately disagreeing while the men’s mean was 3.79, also indicating disagreement with the statement. Forty-one percent of the students totally disagreed with the “soft” statement. Both women (2.55 mean) and men (2.82) agreed that gender-integrated training will improve military readiness. A total of 46.4 percent totally agreed or moderately agreed on the readiness question.

In response to the statement that trainees do not get enough privacy, women had a mean of 3.41, compared to the men’s 3.12. Forty-three percent of respondents gave a neutral answer about privacy. Concerning whether gender-integrated training leads to sexual attractions/distractions, women disagreed with a mean of 3.18, while men tended to agree (2.74 mean) with the statement. Nearly 45 percent of the students either totally agreed or moderately agreed about sexual attractions/distractions. When asked if gender-integrated training leads to more sexual harassment complaints, women disagreed with the statement (3.64 mean) more so than men (3.12 mean). Thirty percent of respondents selected a neutral opinion on the sexual harassment statement. Men (3.62 mean) and women (4.09 mean) disagreed with the statement that gender-integrated training would have a negative effect on recruiting. Twenty students (35.7 percent) chose “totally disagree” for that statement. Table 1 shows a summary of tests of differences in means for women and men.

In previous studies of similar groups of DEOMI students, this researcher found in 1997 that women strongly disagreed to separate basic training with a mean of 4.28. Men had a mean of 3.85, and a *t*-test found a significant difference ($p < .05$). However, in 2000, the difference in the women’s mean of 3.32 was much closer to the men’s 3.23, and a *t* test revealed no significant difference (Murray, 2000). Based upon these respondents' opinions, one might infer that as

Table 1

Summary of Tests of Differences in Means for Women and Men

Statement	Women (N=22)		Men (N=34)		<i>t</i>	Sig.
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Separate-gender basic training	3.41	1.56	3.03	.73	.855	N. S.
Should train and work together	1.91	1.38	2.26	1.48	-.901	N. S.
Same physical standards for all	3.41	1.47	3.35	1.28	.151	N. S.
Trainees do not get enough privacy	3.41	1.26	3.12	1.01	.957	N. S.
GIT will cause "soft" military	4.09	1.23	3.79	1.09	.943	N. S.

GIT leads to sexual attract/distractions	3.18	1.37	2.74	1.42	1.165	N. S.
Double standards are used for men/women	3.41	.91	2.82	1.06	2.135	P< .05
GIT leads to more sexual harass. cmplt	3.64	1.18	3.12.	1.09	1.682	N. S.
GIT will help improve readiness	2.55	1.26	2.82	1.38	- .761	N. S.
GIT will have a neg. effect on recruiting	4.09	1.07	3.62	1.23	1.479	N. S.

gender-integrated training becomes more commonplace, service members' opinions about it lose strength. However, when responses of those who attended gender-integrated training were compared with non-attendees, different results were obtained.

When responses were compared between those persons who had attended gender-integrated and those who had not, five significant differences were found. The groups showed disagreement on these statements: separate basic training, GIT will cause a "soft" military, GIT leads to sexual attractions/distractions, double standards are used for men and women, and GIT will have a negative effect on recruiting. Generally, persons who attended gender-integrated training displayed stronger opinions than those who did not attend. For example, GIT graduates strongly agreed that men and women should train and work together and strongly disagreed that GIT will lead to a soft military and have a negative effect on recruiting. Comparisons of GIT attendees and non-attendees are in Table 2.

Table 2

Summary of Tests of Differences in Means for GIT Attendees and Non-attendees

Statement	Attended GIT		Non-attendees		<i>t</i>	Sig.
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Separate-gender basic training	4.06	1.34	2.79	1.60	2.855	P< .05
Should train and work together	1.59	1.00	2.80	1.55	-1.883	N. S.
Same physical standards for all	2.88	1.58	3.59	1.19	-1.853	N. S.
Trainees do not get enough privacy	3.65	1.17	3.05	1.05	1.886	N. S.
GIT will cause "soft" military	4.41	.870	3.69	1.20	2.232	P< .05

GIT leads to sexual attract/distractions	3.47	1.33	2.67	1.39	2.024	P< .05.
Double standards are used for men/women	3.47	1.01	2.87	1.00	.2049	P< .05
GIT leads to more sexual harassment	3.53	1.33	3.23	1.06	.895	N. S.
GIT will help improve readiness	2.47	1.50	2.82	1.25	-.903	N. S.
GIT will have a neg. effect on recruiting	4.41	1.33	2.90	.87	2.682	P< .05

The two largest race-ethnic groups in the survey were African-Americans (N = 29) and Caucasian (N = 20). When the means of their responses were compared and a *t* test was applied, the only significant difference found among the ten statements concerned the statement about double standards being used for women and men ($p < .05$). The mean of the African Americans was 3.34, compared to the mean of 2.65 for the Caucasians. Results are summarized in Table 3. Responses to the statement about the double standards proved to be significant when tested between men and women, GIT attendees and non-attendees, and African Americans and Caucasians. This pilot study dealt with 56 persons in one class. This researcher would like to expand the study to other classes and perhaps to active service members and Reserve Components.

Table 3

Summary of Tests of Differences in Means for African-Americans and Caucasians

Statement	African-Americans		Caucasians		<i>t</i>	Sig.
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Separate-gender basic training	3.38	1.52	2.80	1.73	1.237	N .S.
Should train and work together	1.90	1.21	2.55	1.70	-1.576	N. S.
Same physical standards for all	3.48	1.33	3.35	1.39	.338	N. S.
Trainees do not get enough privacy	3.28	1.52	3.10	1.33	1.976	N. S.
GIT will cause "soft" military	4.10	1.08	3.55	1.28	1.636	N. S.
GIT leads to sexual	2.86	1.38	2.75	1.41	.277	N. S.

attract/distractions

Double standards are used for men/women	3.34	1.01	2.65	1.09	2.293	P< .05
GIT leads to more sexual harassment	3.21	1.18	3.35	1.04	-.438	N. S.
GIT will help improve readiness	2.66	1.23	2.85	1.42	-.510	N. S.
GIT will have a neg. effect on recruiting	3.86	1.38	3.65	1.09	.607	N. S.

Summary and Conclusions

During this content analysis covering the period 1997-2000, 113 news stories and 36 printed commentaries were examined. Most news stories contained information provided by news releases, briefings and reports. In most cases, more stories appeared around the dates when panels were announced or when the panels presented their reports. Most of the stories were balanced, allowing views from opponents and proponents of gender-integrated training. More columnists wrote in favor of gender-segregated training than wrote in support of integrated training. An opinion questionnaire was completed by 56 members of the active-duty Equal Opportunity Advisor Course to express their opinions concerning 10 questions raised by press coverage of gender-integrated training. Generally, both men and women favor gender-integrated training. The survey showed men and women disagreed most about the statement that double standards are used for men and women during gender-integrated training. An analysis of variance showed a significant difference in the responses ($p < .05$).

Here are answers to the research questions of this study:

- R1: To what extent would newspapers emphasize information about gender-integrated training?** The coverage appears to have been rather thorough as the number of news stories were 52 in 1997, 43 in 1998, 12 in 1999, and 6 in 2000.
- R2: Do the news reports appear to be accurate?** The reports were based on facts and listed the sources of information.
- R3: Did press commentaries favor gender-integrated training or oppose it?** By about a 2-1 margin, editorials and commentaries were against gender-integrated training. Some influential persons, such as Senator Snowe and U.S. Representative Maloney wrote in favor of gender-integrated training, while U.S. Representative Bartlett wrote and spoke against it.
- R4: Will the number of articles and commentaries decrease each year?** Yes, as the interest in the issue increased and decisions and compromises were made, the number of articles decreased. The numbers of news stories were 52 in

1997, 43 in 1998, 12 in 1999, and 6 in 2000. There were 18 commentaries in 1997, 7 in 1998, 6 in 1999, and 5 in 2000.

R5: Regarding the survey: Will there be significant differences in opinions between men and women, African Americans and Caucasians, and persons who completed gender-integrated and those who did not?

Comparisons of means showed differences of opinions between men and women. Results of the survey showed men and women, and African Americans, disagreed most about the use of double standards when it occurred during gender-integrated training. When responses of gender-integrated attendees and non-attendees were compared, significant differences were found in half of the responses. Summaries of the comparisons were presented in Tables 1-3.

As far as the future of gender-integrated training is concerned, one writer stated regarding the Blair Commission report, it “may be the final word in the long debate over mixed-sex training” (Scarborough, 1999). Blair said she still is concerned about the overworked trainers and the need for more of them. Other factors to consider, she said, are cost effectiveness, billeting, recruiting, avoiding excessive injuries to women, and the overall quality of life in the military (Blair, 2001). Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has tasked another panel to examine morale and quality of life in the military. The American public holds the military in high regard, but “the propensity to serve is very low,” Retired Admiral David Jeremiah, a former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told reporters on June 13, 2001 (Rhem, 2001). Improving the quality of life and morale will include training. Whether the training is gender-integrated or separate, when changes occur, the press will be there to cover the news and provide a forum for exchange of opinions.

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Appendix A

Coding Form

Publication _____ **Date** _____

News _____ **Commentary** _____

Does the item emphasize information about gender-integrated training? (circle)

All Very much Somewhat Very little None

The item's coverage is (circle)

Very positive Mostly positive Neutral Some negative Very negative

Subject of commentary: _____

Other: _____

Appendix B

Survey on News Media Coverage of Gender-Integrated Training in the Military

Military leaders, members of Congress and the news media have discussed the topic of gender-integrated training in recent years. As an equal opportunity officer, you could be dealing with cases stemming from gender-integrated training. We are interested in your perceptions of the effect of the publicity on the military, especially of gender-integrated basic training. Your opinions will help us in this research. Please take a few moments to respond to the following statements, writing your answers on the questionnaire.

PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT

In accordance with DoD Directive 5400.11, the following information about this survey is provided:

- a. Authority: 10 USC, 131.
- b. Principal Purpose: The survey is being conducted to gather your opinions about news media coverage of sexual harassment in the military.
- c. Routine Uses: Information provided by respondents will be treated confidentially. The averaged data will be used to identify perceptions of the surveyed group. Averaged results may be published in a DoD or civilian publication, but no individuals will be identified.
- d. Participation: Response to this survey is voluntary. Your response will help ensure the validity of the survey. We appreciate your participation.

Demographic Data

1. I am
 - 1 = female.
 - 2 = male.
2. My racial/ethnic group is
 - 1 = American Indian or Alaskan Native.
 - 2 = Asian or Pacific Islander.
 - 3 = African-American (not of Hispanic origin).
 - 4 = Hispanic.
 - 5 = White (not Hispanic origin).
 - 6 = Other.
3. I am a/an
 - 1 = enlisted service member.
 - 2 = officer/warrant officer.
 - 3 = civilian.
4. My age is
 - 1 = Under 25 years.
 - 2 = 25-30.
 - 3 = 31-35.
 - 4 = 36-40
 - 5 = Over 40
5. Did you attend gender-integrated basic training?
 - 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No

News Media Coverage of Gender-Integrated Training in the Military

In this section, please give your opinion. Please circle the corresponding number to your response as follows:

- 1 = totally agree with the statement
 2 = moderately agree with the statement
 3 = neither agree nor disagree with the statement
 4 = moderately disagree with the statement
 5 = totally disagree with the statement

1. Men and women should be separated during military basic training.1 2 3 4 5
2. Women and men should train together because they will work together. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Women and men should have to meet the same physical training standards. 1 2 3 4 5
4. Trainees do not get enough privacy during gender-integrated basic training. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Gender-integrated training is causing the military to grow softer..... 1 2 3 4 5
6. Gender-integrated training creates situations with sexual attractions/distractions.1 2 3 4 5
7. Double standards are applied to men and women during gender-integrated training.1 2 3 4 5
8. Gender-integrated training leads to more sexual harassment complaints.1 2 3 4 5
9. Gender-integrated training will help improve military readiness.1 2 3 4 5
10. Gender-integrated training will have A negative effect on recruiting. 1 2 3 4 5

Women in Submarines: Have the Arguments About Expanded Roles for Women in the Navy Changed Over Time?

Darlene Marie Iskra
University of Maryland

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the issues and arguments surrounding the debate on expanding roles for women in the Navy, and the rationales for these positions, especially in reference to women serving in submarines. I reviewed the arguments both for and against expanding women's roles, and compared them to the current discussions on whether the submarine force should be open to women. I investigated this topic through a literature review (journal articles, newspaper opinion pieces, books and formal studies) and content analysis of U.S. Congressional testimony, and other public records. The arguments for and against expanding roles for women in the military in the last half-century have primarily focused on the areas of military effectiveness and citizenship rights and responsibilities. Although the arguments against expanding roles for women are influenced by the social construction of gender and a Navy culture that is socially constructed, the expansion of women's naval roles have been influenced by social change, legal challenges, and needs of the Navy. Preliminary results show that the basic arguments, both pro and con, have not changed over time. The same general arguments are made any time expansion of women's roles are considered; that labor force dynamics precipitated the changes to women's military roles rather than a significant change in the social construction of gender in the Navy.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Slide 1




**The Navy Equal Opportunity/
Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey:
Past Findings and Future Directions**

Carol E. Newell
Navy Personnel Research, Studies, & Technology
Millington, TN

Presented at the 4th Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium
Cocoa Beach, FL
December 6, 2001

The opinions expressed are those of the author. They are not official and do not represent the views of the Navy.

Slide 2




Objectives

- ★ Navy EO Assessment History
- ★ NEOSH Survey
- ★ NEOSH Survey Results
- ★ NEOSH Survey Future Issues

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Navy EO Assessment History




1973	NPRDC document recommends that a “racial barometer” be developed to measure equal opportunity climate
1975-1984	Navy-wide HRM survey served as basis of NPRDC organizational development and EO research program
1983	NPRDC publishes Navy-wide EO climate assessment based on HRM survey data
1988	CNO study on EO in the Navy released recommending biennial EO survey
1989 - 2001	NPRST administers Navy-wide Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey biennially

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Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey




- ★ **Biennial since 1989**
- ★ **Measures EO/SH perceptions of Sailors**
- ★ **Two sections**
 - Equal Opportunity
 - Sexual Harassment
- ★ **Large, weighted sample**
 - Race
 - Gender
 - Paygrade

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Slide 5

NEOSH : Assessment of EO




★ **Part I: Equal Opportunity (EO)**

- EO Climate measured through 10 core EO modules
 - Groups of items developed in 1989
 - Simplifies comparisons between racial/ethnic and gender groups
 - Allows for statistical trend analyses with past NEOSH Surveys
- Individual EO Climate Items
- Racial/Ethnic Discrimination
- Gender Discrimination
- EO Programs and Training

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NEOSH: Assessment of SH




★ **Part II: Sexual Harassment**

- SH Climate questions
- Percentage Who Say They Were Sexually Harassed
- SH Behaviors Experienced
- Location of Harassment
- Characteristics of Harassers
- Actions Taken After SH
- SH Complaints

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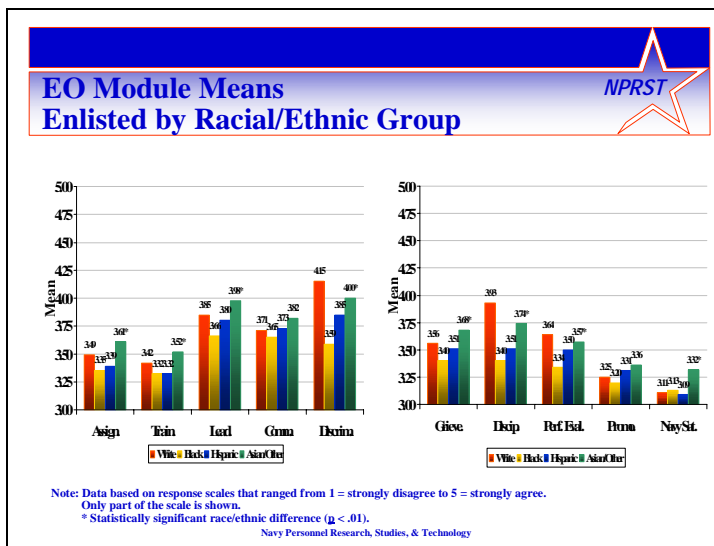
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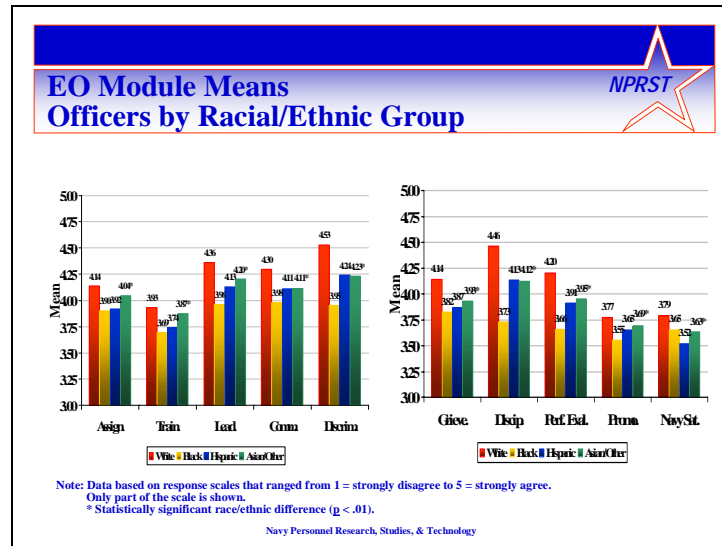
★ 1999 NEOSH Survey Findings - EO Section

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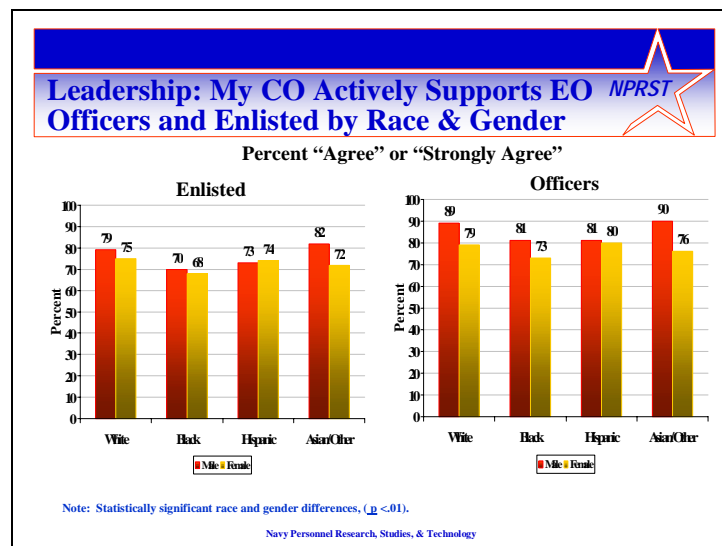
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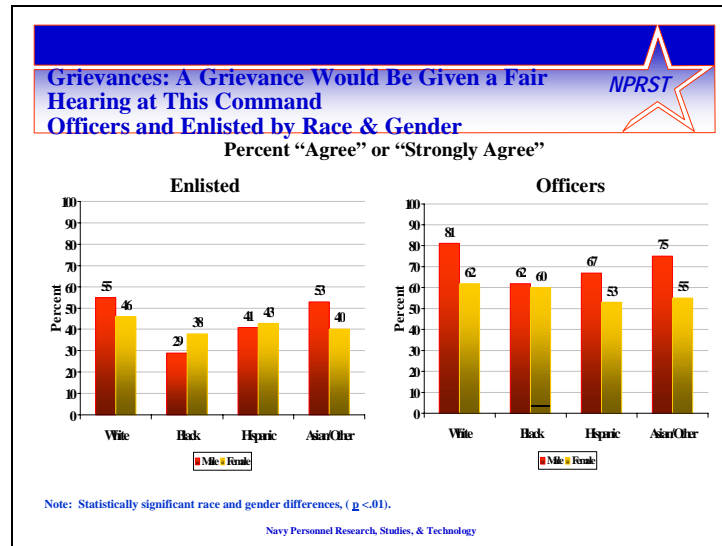
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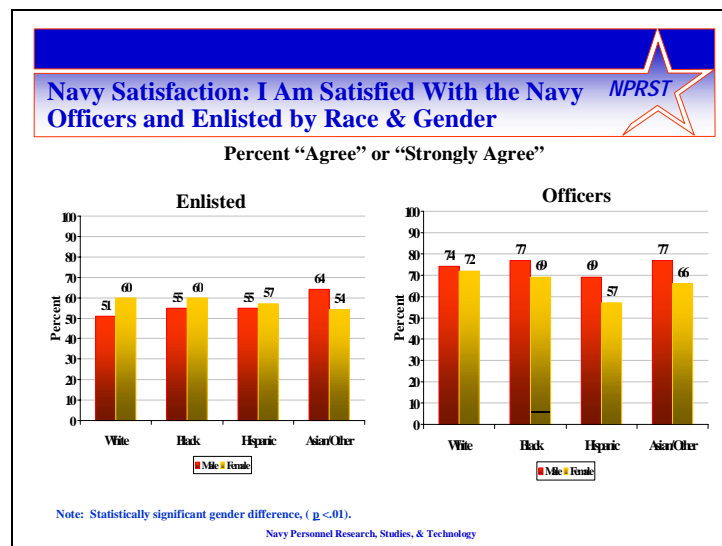
Slide 10



Slide 11



Slide 12



Slide 13

<div> <div>Program Evaluation</div> <div>NPRST</div> </div>					
Enlisted Percent "Yes"					
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Command has CMEO Program	51%	61%	70%	73%	78%*
Received EO Training at this Command	--	--	--	74%	74%
Attended NR&R Training at this Command	67%	83%	81%	78%	77%
Attended Fraternization Training at this Command	71%	86%	89%	90%	89%
Received Sexual Harassment Training at this Command	75%	95%	95%	92%	91%
Have Heard of Navy EO/SH Adviceline	--	--	--	--	52%

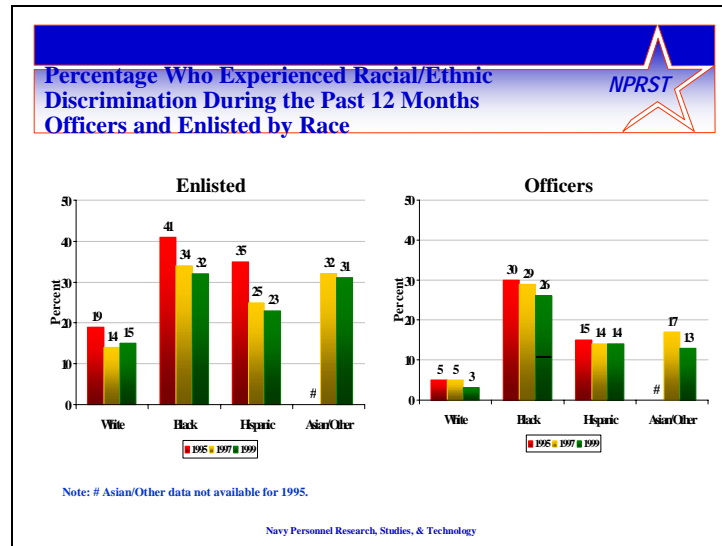
Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).
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<div> <div>Program Evaluation</div> <div>NPRST</div> </div>					
Officers Percent "Yes"					
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Command has CMEO Program	77%	81%	86%	86%	85%
Received EO Training at this Command	--	--	--	78%	71%*
Attended NR&R Training at this Command	57%	70%	72%	74%	61%*
Attended Fraternization Training at this Command	66%	79%	89%	84%	77%*
Received Sexual Harassment Training at this Command	73%	91%	93%	88%	79%*
Have Heard of Navy EO/SH Adviceline	--	--	--	--	56%

Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).
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Slide 15



Slide 16

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination Behaviors

NPRST

Respondents by Race
Percent "Yes"

	Enlisted				Officer			
	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Other	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Other
Negative comments	19%	36%	32%	28%	5%	23%	19%	12%
Offensive jokes	15%	31%	30%	26%	4%	14%	18%	10%
Ignored by others	12%	28%	14%	21%	4%	22%	10%	9%
Given menial jobs	15%	24%	16%	16%	2%	10%	9%	3%
Not asked to socialize	7%	12%	6%	5%	2%	13%	5%	3%
Denied potential reward/benefit	8%	17%	12%	12%	2%	11%	6%	4%
Physically threatened	5%	8%	3%	6%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Physically assaulted	2%	2%	1%	3%	0%	1%	0%	0%

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Equal Opportunity: Summary



- ★ As in previous years, all groups maintained neutral to positive perceptions of Navy's EO climate
- ★ Discipline items continue to produce large racial/ethnic gaps in EO climate perceptions
- ★ Decrease in percentage of Officers who attended EO, NR&R, Fraternization, and SH training at their commands
 - Officers less likely to attend these trainings than are Enlisted
- ★ Occurrence of many racial/ethnic discrimination behaviors has not declined among Enlisted minorities
 - Milder forms of racial discrimination behaviors the most common

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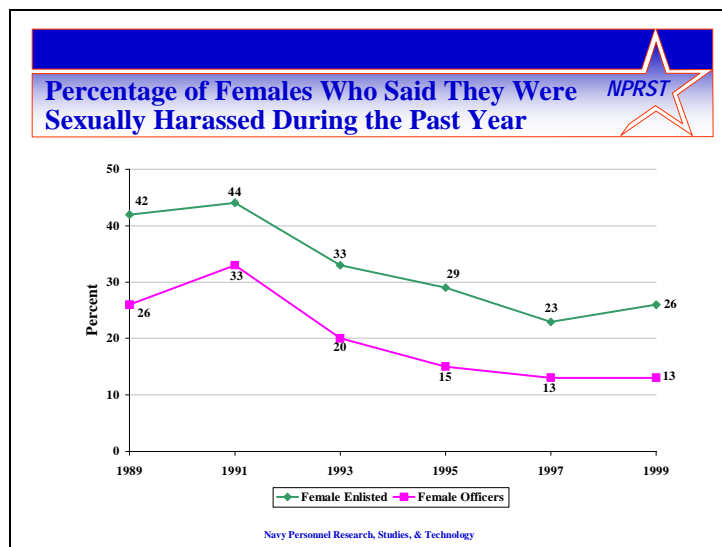
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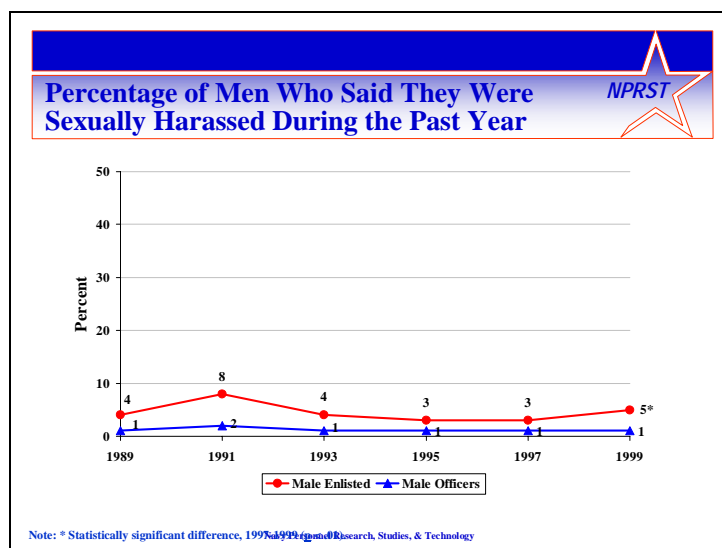
★ **1999 NIOSH Survey Findings - SH Section**

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Slide 20



Slide 21

SH Behaviors Experienced During the Past Year						
Female Enlisted						
	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Sexual teasing, jokes	39%	45%	38%	30%	22%	29%*
Sexual looks, staring	37%	43%	38%	29%	23%	27%
Sexual whistles, calls	36%	40%	32%	24%	18%	24%*
Deliberate touching	29%	32%	25%	20%	16%	19%
Pressure for dates	27%	30%	23%	20%	14%	19%*
Letters, phone calls	17%	16%	14%	10%	8%	12%*
Pressure for sexual favors	14%	17%	12%	11%	8%	9%
Stalking or invasion of residence	**	**	6%	5%	5%	5%
Actual or attempted rape/assault	6%	6%	6%	4%	4%	3%

Note: Multiple responses allowed.
 * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).
 ** Item not on the survey.

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SH Behaviors Experienced During the Past Year						
Female Officers						
	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Sexual teasing, jokes	23%	31%	19%	14%	12%	13%
Sexual looks, staring	18%	24%	16%	12%	11%	12%
Sexual whistles, calls	17%	19%	14%	9%	7%	9%
Deliberate touching	13%	13%	7%	5%	6%	6%
Pressure for dates	10%	9%	6%	5%	5%	3%
Letters, phone calls	6%	9%	3%	4%	4%	3%
Pressure for sexual favors	3%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Stalking or invasion of residence	**	**	1%	2%	1%	2%
Actual or attempted rape/assault	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%

Note: Multiple responses allowed.
 ** Item not on the survey.

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Sexual Harassment Climate					
Male Officers					
Percent "Agree" or "Strongly Agree"					
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Actions are being taken in the Navy to prevent SH.	90%	92%	96%	93%	93%
Actions are being taken at this command to prevent SH.	70%	85%	88%	84%	82%
The leadership at this command enforces Navy's SH policy.	83%	90%	92%	89%	91%
SH training is taken seriously at this command.	61%	81%	84%	79%	77%
I know what words or actions are considered SH.	89%	93%	97%	95%	96%
SH is a problem in the Navy.	36%	33%	40%	25%	21%*

Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).

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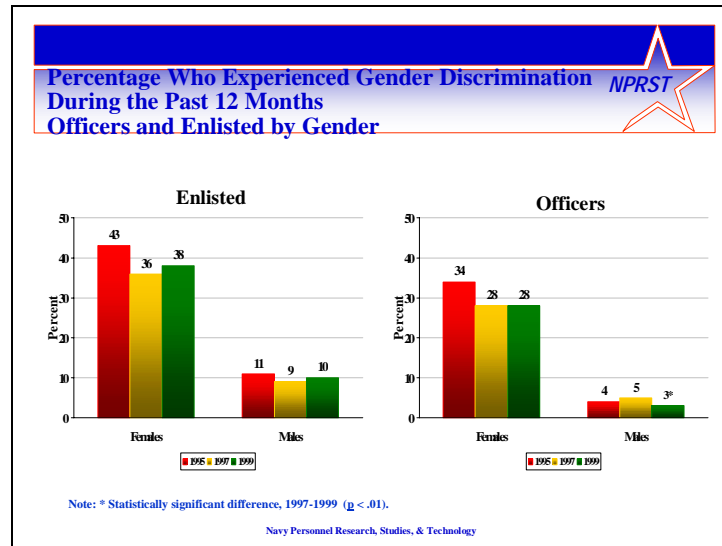
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Sexual Harassment Climate					
Female Officers					
Percent "Agree" or "Strongly Agree"					
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999
Actions are being taken in the Navy to prevent SH.	88%	90%	91%	91%	90%
Actions are being taken at this command to prevent SH.	68%	80%	84%	82%	74%*
The leadership at this command enforces Navy's SH policy.	75%	86%	85%	86%	80%*
SH training is taken seriously at this command.	57%	74%	72%	72%	68%
I know what words or actions are considered SH.	92%	96%	98%	97%	97%
SH is a problem in the Navy.	61%	63%	61%	40%	35%

Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).

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Gender Discrimination Behaviors *NPRST*

Enlisted Respondents
Percent "Yes"

	Males				Females			
	1993	1995	1997	1999	1993	1995	1997	1999
Negative comments	9%	12%	8%	10%	44%	43%	34%	38%
Offensive jokes	7%	9%	8%	9%	35%	35%	31%	33%
Ignored by others	5%	9%	8%	7%	18%	21%	17%	20%
Given menial jobs	6%	9%	8%	9%	20%	24%	18%	20%
Not asked to socialize	2%	3%	2%	4%*	10%	13%	11%	13%
Denied potential reward/benefit	4%	5%	7%	6%	9%	8%	10%	11%
Physically threatened	2%	3%	2%	3%	6%	5%	4%	4%
Physically assaulted	1%	2%	1%	1%	5%	4%	3%	2%

Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).

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Gender Discrimination Behaviors								
Officer Respondents Percent "Yes"								
	Males				Females			
	1993	1995	1997	1999	1993	1995	1997	1999
Negative comments	6%	4%	3%	3%	36%	33%	25%	27%
Offensive jokes	4%	3%	3%	3%	30%	24%	19%	21%
Ignored by others	2%	3%	1%	2%	19%	21%	14%	19%*
Given menial jobs	2%	2%	2%	1%	11%	10%	12%	12%
Not asked to socialize	1%	3%	1%	1%	12%	16%	11%	14%
Denied potential reward/benefit	2%	2%	2%	1%	8%	5%	8%	7%
Physically threatened	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	3%	1%	2%
Physically assaulted	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%

Note: * Statistically significant difference, 1997-1999 ($p < .01$).

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Sexual Harassment: Summary

- ☞ Steady decline in SH rate from 1991 to present
- ☞ Decrease in percentage of respondents who believe SH is a problem in the Navy
- ☞ Most know what words or actions are considered SH
- ☞ Thirty-eight percent of Enlisted females and 28% of female Officers report experiencing gender discrimination during the past 12 months
 - Most common gender discrimination behaviors are milder forms (e.g., negative comments, jokes, etc.)

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**NEOSH Survey: Future Directions**

- 📌 **NEOSH 01/02 to be administered in February 2002**
- 📌 **NEOSH survey EO section condensed**
 - Core items remain
- 📌 **Special topic of NEOSH 01/02:**
 - **Perceptions of discrimination since Sept 11, 2001**

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Slide 1

Headquarters U.S. Air Force

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**Air Force Equal Opportunity
Climate Assessment
(AFEOCA) Internet Program**



Lt Col Kevin Driscoll, Ed.D
AF/DPDFH
Mark A. Dallaire
Human Resources Technologies

U.S. AIR FORCE

Slide 2



U.S. AIR FORCE

Overview

- AF Vision Regarding UCA Program
- Process Overview
- Administrator Functions (Set-Up/Utilities)
- User Functions (Survey Data Input)
- Report Options (Output)
- Demonstration

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U.S. AIR FORCE

AF Vision Regarding UCA Program

- SAF, AF/DP, and MAJCOM HRC Requests
- Standardization of MEO Tasks
- MEO/EEO Reengineering Process
- Use Data to Assist Other AF Functions While Maintaining UCA Integrity
- Reemphasize AF EO Importance

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Slide 4



U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Secured/Dedicated Server
- Use AF Approved UCA Survey and Report Format
- Establish Rules of Engagement
- Establish Base/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC Accounts
- Test/Train/Release/Modify

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U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Secured/Dedicated Server
 - Host: HRT, Inc.
 - Verisign Encrypted 128 Bit Web Site
 - Password Protected Checkpoint Firewall
 - Industrial Duty Diesel Generator Standby System
Capable of Long-Term Power Production
 - Data Backed Up Daily
 - Coded 500 Pound-Test Electromagnetic Locking
System
 - MEO Technician Standing Guard - 24/7/365

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U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Use AF Approved UCA Survey and Report
Format: AF/DPDH & AFPC/DPSAS
 - UCA Survey (SCN)
 - 7 Point Response Scale (Strongly
Agree/Strongly Disagree)
 - Include DMDC Race/Ethnic Choices
 - Survey Analysis Report
 - Final UCA Report

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From Vision to Reality

- Establish Rules of Engagement
 - Include Military, Civil Service, NAF, Local Nationals and Contractors
 - Include AFSC Breakdown for Officers, Enlisted, and Civil Service
 - Protect the Identity of Survey Respondents
 - Use Random Generated Survey Access Codes
 - Mask Individual Responses of Five or Less

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From Vision to Reality

- Establish Rules of Engagement
 - Survey Data Restrictions
 - Unit: No Restrictions
 - Wing: Unit Identifier Restrictions
 - MAJCOM: Base Identifier Restrictions
 - AFSC: Unit/Base Identifier Restrictions
 - Survey Analysis Report Restrictions
 - Unit: Data/Comments
 - Base/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC: Data Only

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U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Establish Rules of Engagement
 - Final Report Restrictions
 - Unit: Data/Comments/Interviews/Locally Generated Questions
 - Base/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC: Data Only

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U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Establish Base/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC Accounts
 - Account Identifier and Administrator Password Provided by HRT, Inc.
 - Base: LAN01, DYE01, etc.
 - MAJCOM: ACC01, AMC01, etc.
 - AF: AF01
 - AFSC: Enlisted 3S01/Officer 3601/Civil Service XX01

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U.S. AIR FORCE

From Vision to Reality

- Establish Base/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC Accounts
 - UCA Report Identifier is Assigned
 - Base: LAN01001
 - MAJCOM: ACC01001
 - AF: AF01001
 - AFSC: Enlisted 3S01001/ Officer
3601001/Civil Service XX01001

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U.S. AIR FORCE

Test/Train/Release/Modify

- Test
 - Server Test Conducted by MEO Offices
 - Survey Test Conducted by MAJCOM Program Managers
 - USAFE/PACAF Test Conducted
- Train
 - Receive Hands-On Training Prior to Command Specific Release from HRT, Inc.

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Test/Train/Release/Modify

- **Release**
 - Released to First MAJCOM on 1 Oct 01
 - Released to Next MAJCOM as Determined by AF/DPDH
 - Complete Release NLT Sept 02
 - Technical Assistance Provided by HRT, Inc.
- **Modify**
 - As Determined by Feedback Received

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Administrator Functions

New UCA

- REASON FOR UCA:** Directed/Requested/Required
- UCA TYPE:** 1/2/3
- MAJCOM/FOA/DRU:** Host/Parent (Tenants)
- INSTALLATION:** Auto Input
- UNIT:** Name of Organization/Commander/First Sergeant
- PERSONNEL ASSIGNED:** Input Demographics
- AF RELATED BREAKDOWN:** Choose Type of Unit
- AFEOCA ID:** Auto Input
- SURVEY START/STOP DATES:** Input Dates
- LOCALLY DEVELOPED QUESTIONS:** Limited to 10
- NUMBER OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS:** No Limit
- UCA ADMINISTRATOR:** Name/Rank/Position/Phone

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Administrator Functions


Survey Response Counter

- AFEOCA ID LISTING
- START/STOP DATES
- NUMBER OF SURVEYS DISTRIBUTED
- NUMBER OF SURVEYS COMPLETED (BY TOTAL & RANK/GRADE, RACE, AND SEX)
- PERCENTAGE OF SURVEYS COMPLETED (BY TOTAL & RANK/GRADE, RACE, AND SEX)

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Administrator Functions

Cancel UCA


- USED TO CANCEL A UCA
- TO SUSPEND A UCA; MODIFY THE UCA START/STOP DATES

Additional Passwords

- DISPLAYS AFEOCA LISTING
- CHOOSE UCA REQUIRING ADDITIONAL PASSWORDS
- ADD THE NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL PASSWORDS DESIRED
- CREATES PASSWORDS AND DOWNLOADS FILE TO LOCATION OF YOUR CHOOSING

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Administrator Functions

Change Survey Input Dates

- DISPLAYS LIST
- CHOOSE UCA AND MODIFY THE UCA START/STOP DATES

Print Paper Survey


- ALLOWS YOU TO PRINT OR CUT/PASTE A PAPER VERSION OF THE AF APPROVED SURVEY

Input Paper Survey Data

- DISPLAYS LIST
- ALLOWS YOU TO INPUT SURVEY DATA TO AN EXISTING UCA

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Report Options

Request Survey Analysis Report


- DATA (#&%) DISPLAYED FOR EACH QUESTION & SECTION
- CREATES SEPARATE OR COMBINED REPORTS BASED ON UNIT/BASE/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC/MIL/CIV/OTHER
- COMMENTS PROVIDED WITH UNIT REPORT ONLY

Request Final UCA Report

- CREATES SEPARATE OR COMBINED FINAL REPORTS BASED ON UNIT/BASE/MAJCOM/AF/AFSC/MIL/CIV/OTHER
- DISPLAYS SURVEY DATA POINTS FROM PREVIOUS UCA, AF RELATED ORGANIZATIONAL DATA, AND AF TOTAL DATA. AN EXPLANATION OF THE DATA POINTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE IS INCLUDED IN THE REPORT. **(UNDER CONSTRUCTION)**

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Administrator Functions

Future Developments

- INTERVIEW DATABASE - USED TO CREATE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES
- DATA REQUEST FORM - USED TO RECEIVE INFORMATION REGARDING A SPECIFIC NEED OUTSIDE OF INDIVIDUAL ADMINISTRATIVE RIGHTS
- AF SEMI-ANNUAL UCA SURVEY REPORT PROVIDED TO AF/DPDH FOR DISTRIBUTION TO EACH MEO OFFICE

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U.S. AIR FORCE


User Functions

Commander/Director Notification Letter

- ANONYMOUS IN NATURE
- PROVIDES INFORMATION CONCERNING THE UCA PROCESS AND HOW THE REQUESTER ANTICIPATES USING THE DATA RECEIVED
- INCLUDES THE URL ADDRESS, THE ACCESS CODE, AND THE COMPLETE NTL DATE
- PROVIDES RESPONDENT POC INFORMATION TO PRESENT QUESTIONS AND/OR CONCERNS

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SUBJECT: AIR FORCE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE ASSESSMENT PROGRAM
TO: Unit Personnel
Message from CMSgt Wroblinski

Thank you in advance for participating in this assessment of the human relations' climate within our unit. This assessment provides you an opportunity to express your thoughts, opinions, and feelings regarding our organization. This assessment is being conducted by the Wing Military Equal Opportunity Office and will address morale; communications between unit members and their supervisors; attitudes and perceptions of assigned personnel of different ranks, races, ethnic backgrounds, and sexes; and overall organizational health.

To properly assess our unit's climate, I am requesting you complete a survey no later than 09/15/01. The survey will ask you to provide demographic information such as your rank, race, and sex. The demographic information you provide will be used to ensure we have a proper representation of participants. To further protect your anonymity, when there are less than five respondents within a demographic area, individual responses will be included however, will not be visible to me in the report generated by the Wing Military Equal Opportunity Office.


To begin the survey you must connect to the Internet. The survey can be found at URL: <http://www.fasmetcr.org/uca/user/index.cfm>. An ACCESS CODE is required to gain access to the survey. This case-sensitive code was randomly generated and is not associated with your name or any other personal identifying source. The code ensures anonymity and that each individual selected completes only one survey. Utilize the following survey access code: PAT182811v0t2GB

Where feasible, I plan to use the results to improve the human relations' climate and to better the working environment within the organization. In turn, I look forward to sharing the results of the assessment with the members of our organization in the near future.

If you have additional questions concerning the assessment or the survey you are being asked to complete, my point of contact is Mr. Dallaire, WRT, Inc., DSN 854-2538.

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User Functions

Survey Data Input

- **SURVEY INSTRUCTIONS:** Provides Explanation and Directions
- **PRIVACY ACT:** Provides Access to Privacy Act
- **SURVEY PREVIEW:** Provides Access to Survey Prior to Log In
- **INVALID PASSWORD IDENTIFIER:** Provides Directions
- **RESPONDENT INFORMATION:** Provides Required Demographics
- **CORE SURVEY:** 40 Questions Based on Rank/Grade Selection
- **COMMENTS:** Opportunity to Comment Follows Each Topic Area
- **STRENGTHS/AREAS OF IMPROVEMENT:** Comment Opportunity
- **LOCALLY DEVELOPED QUESTIONS:** Questions 41 - 50
- **DEFINITIONS:** Located Throughout Survey
- **COMPLETION SCALE:** Indicates Degree of Completion

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Headquarters U.S. Air Force

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**Leveraging Technology:
Air Force Equal Opportunity
Climate Assessment Program**



Lt Col Kevin Driscoll
HQ USAF/DPDFH
Mark Dallaire,
Human Resources Technology

U.S. AIR FORCE

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**Air Force Equal Opportunity
Climate Assessment Program**

- Unit Climate Assessments have become recognized as a valuable tool for unit commanders
 - Unit level report accomplished at least every 2 years
- Air Force has average over 900 unit climate assessments per year
- Labor intensive and time consuming effort
- Cumbersome administration of paper and stubby pencil surveys
 - Manually keyed into database--errors possible

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U.S. AIR FORCE

Air Force Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment Program

- **The Challenge**
 - Develop a standardized assessment program used to assess a unit, group, wing, MAJCOM, or AF utilizing the latest developments in computer technology and secure web site design.

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Air Force Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment Program

- **Features Include:**
 - Secure Server
 - Updated Survey Includes Civil Service Employees
 - Various Survey Input Options
 - Data Saved by Unit, AFSC, MAJCOM, and Air Force
 - Standardized Reports Generated for Base-Level UCA I, II, and III

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U.S. AIR FORCE

Air Force Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment Program

- Different Levels of Report Generation
- Response Breakdown of Each Section/Question by Sex/Race/Grade with mask feature
- Added “To Be Developed Locally” With Ten Additional Questions
- Additional Analysis Program (Rank/Race/AFSC/Sex)
- Commander Critique Located on Server

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Air Force Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment Program


- The Bottom line:
 - Updated Survey Instrument
 - Simplified Survey Input/Administration
 - Prepare Detailed Final Reports for UCA--Big Time Saver
 - Provide Feedback on the Overall EO Climate
 - Real-time, available database for EO Research

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**Air Force Equal Opportunity
Climate Assessment Program**




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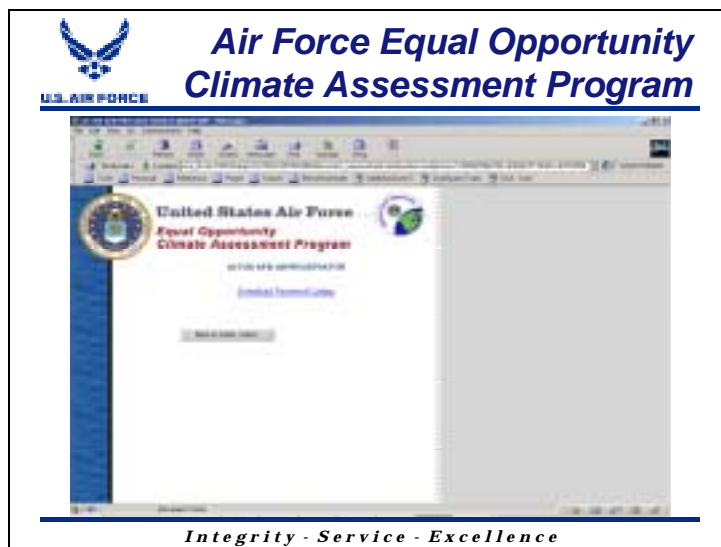


**Air Force Equal Opportunity
Climate Assessment Program**

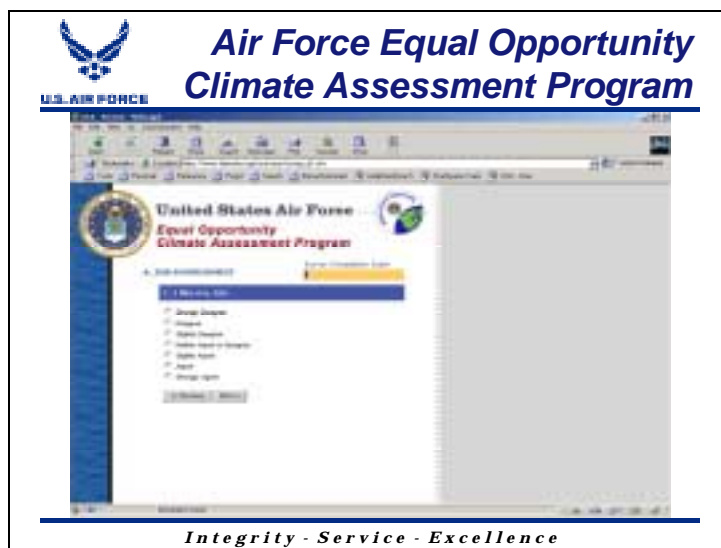


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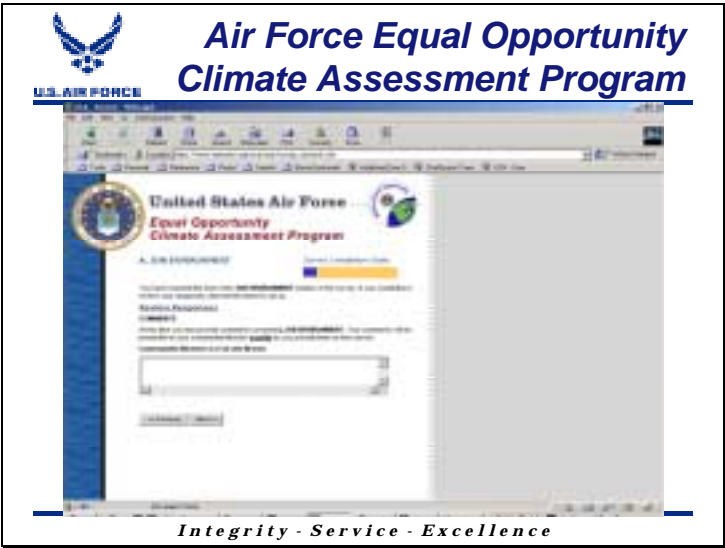
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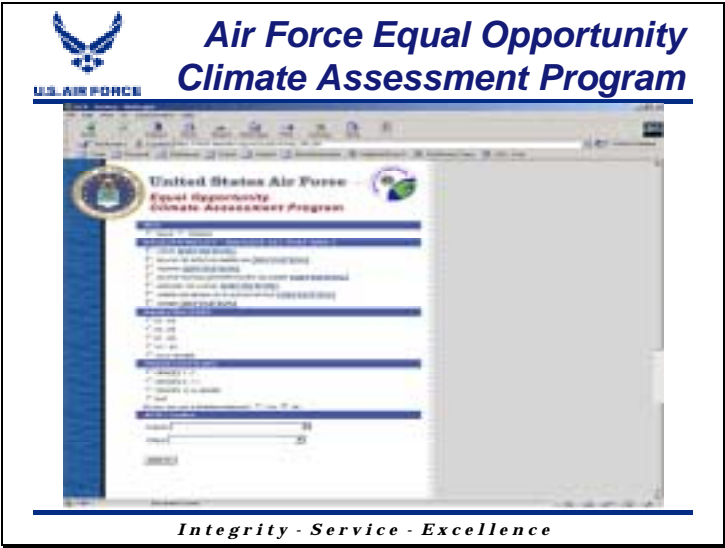
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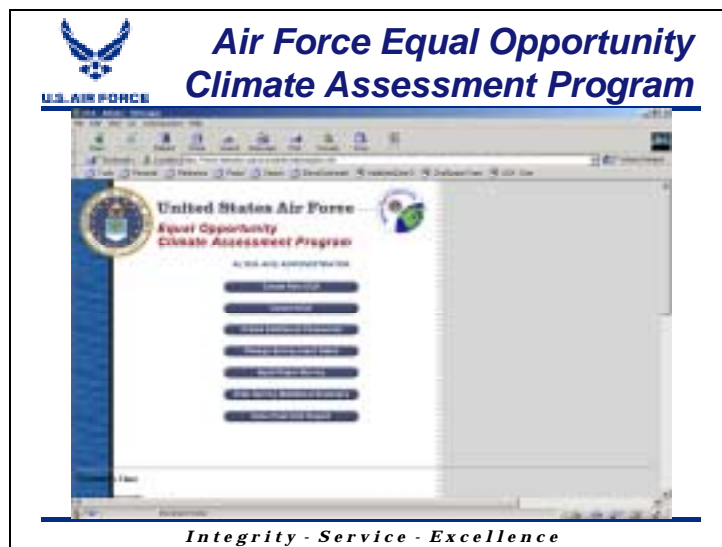
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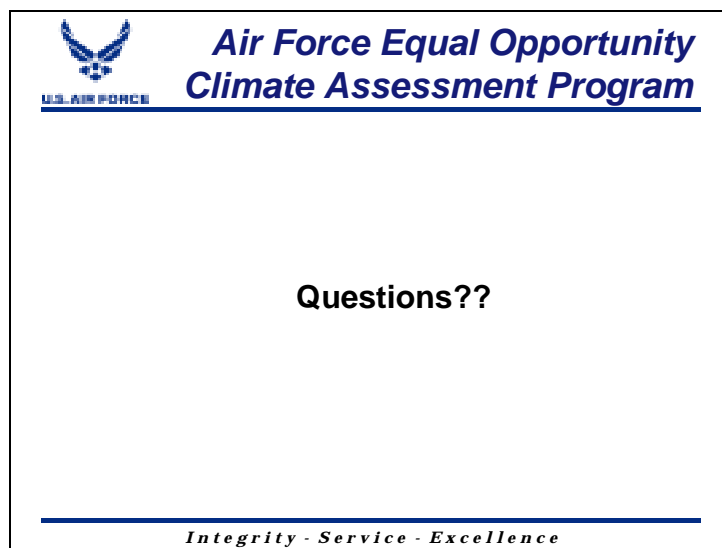
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Demonstration

- Administrator
 - <http://www.famnetcr.org/uca/admin/index.cfm>
- User
 - <http://www.famnetcr.org/uca/user/index.cfm>


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Slide 1



Measuring Equal Opportunity and Sexual Harassment in the Marine Corps

Paul Rosenfeld and Zannette Uriell
Navy Personnel Research, Studies, & Technology Department


Presentation at the DEOMI 4th Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium
Cocoa Beach, FL
December 6, 2001

The opinions expressed are those of the authors. They are not official and do not represent the views of the Navy Department

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Slide 2

MCEOS/MCCS Surveys: History




Jul 92	Standing Committee on Women in DON recommends EO climate survey for Marine Corps
May 94	First administration of the Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS)
Nov 94	MCEOS results briefed to the Commandant
Feb/Mar 96	Second administration of MCEOS, first administration of Reserve version (MCEOS-R)
Nov 96	MCEOS/MCEOS-R results briefed to the Commandant
Jul 97	Third administration of MCEOS, second administration of MCEOS-R
Dec 97	Results briefed to Headquarters, USMC

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Slide 3

MCEOS/MCCS Surveys: History




March 99	MCEOS reengineered, new survey called MCCS
May 99	1999 MCCS/MCCS-R mailed out
Dec 99	1999 MCCS/MCCS/R briefed to HQs
Dec 00	MCCS management report released

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Slide 4

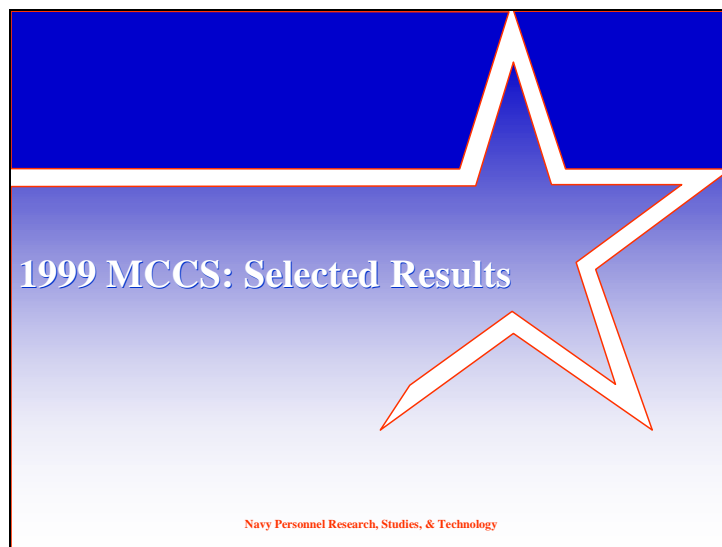
MCCS Reengineering



- ★ MCCS reengineered from the Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS)
- ★ Items came from senior Marine Corps leaders and EOAs
 - Survey reengineered in 1999
 - More Marine-oriented
- ★ Goal to make results more action-oriented
- ★ Simplified rating scale

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Slide 5



Slide 6


Response Rate			NPRST	
	Active Duty	Reserves		
Mail out	11,681	7,888		
Undeliverables	1,256	410		
Completed surveys	3,843	2,433		
Adjusted response rate	37%	33%		
★ <u>Margin of error</u>				
• Active duty enlisted	+/- 2%			
• Reserve enlisted	+/- 3%			
• Active duty officers	+/- 3%			
• Reserve officers	+/- 3%			

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Slide 7

MCCS Modules




- ★ Leadership
- ★ Unit Cohesion
- ★ Professional Development
- ★ Training
- ★ Career Progression
- ★ Satisfaction with the Marine Corps

- ★ Accountability
- ★ Informal Resolution Process and Request Mast
- ★ Discipline
- ★ Extremist Groups/Gangs
- ★ Discrimination Behaviors
- ★ Sexual Harassment

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Summary: Good News




- ★ Results for climate modules are generally positive, particularly for items assessing unit cohesion, accountability, and satisfaction with the Marine Corps
- ★ Most indicate that their chain of command treats them fairly, and that they have been given advice by their seniors or supervisors that has helped their professional development
- ★ Respondents are proud to be Marines, are satisfied with the Corps, and would recommend it to someone with a different racial background
- ★ Very low percentages are targets of extremist/hate group/gang activity or recruitment

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Summary: Good News




- ★ The percentage of active duty personnel who say they experienced racial/ethnic discrimination in the past year decreased, particularly among minority groups
- ★ Rates of gender discrimination have decreased, particularly for active duty enlisted women
- ★ Sexual harassment rates dropped sharply for active duty enlisted and officer women
- ★ Most SH behaviors have decreased and are at the lowest levels since the original MCEOS survey in 1994

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Summary: Areas of Concern



- ★ Leaders are not widely seen as regularly addressing EO or fairness issues
- ★ Enlisted generally do not view the promotion/advancement system as fair
- ★ There is little confidence in the request mast process and the fairness of the complaints process
- ★ As on previous military surveys, Black women are least positive on many climate items (e.g., Discipline)

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NPRST

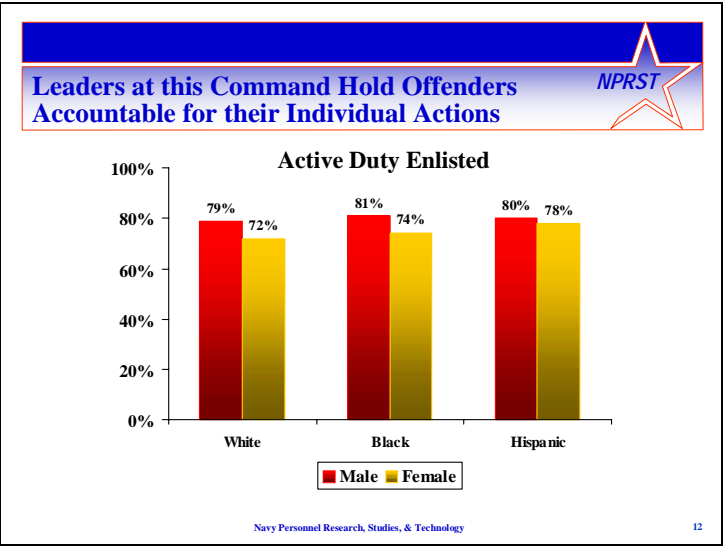
Summary: Areas of Concern

- ★ Despite decreases in racial/ethnic discrimination rates, gaps still exist
- ★ Rates for negative comments and offensive jokes remain relatively high among active-duty minority enlisted
- ★ Among enlisted women, the percentage of sexual harassment by higher-level supervisors and co-workers continues to increase
- ★ The percentage of active duty women officers harassed by their immediate supervisors and subordinates increased

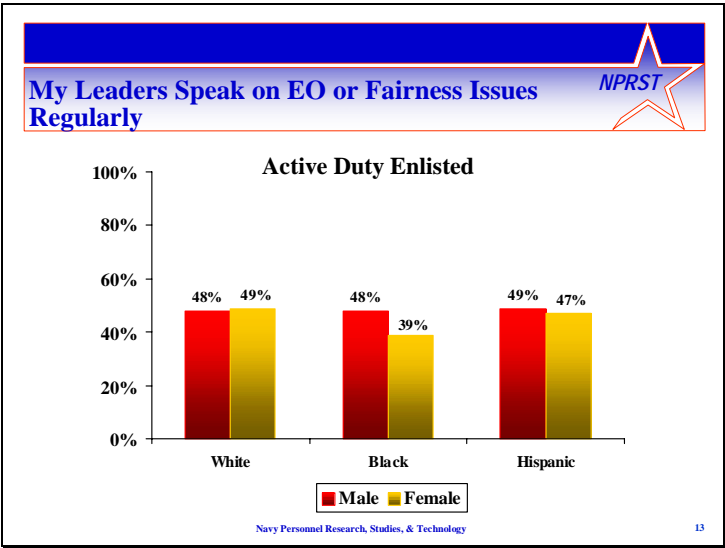
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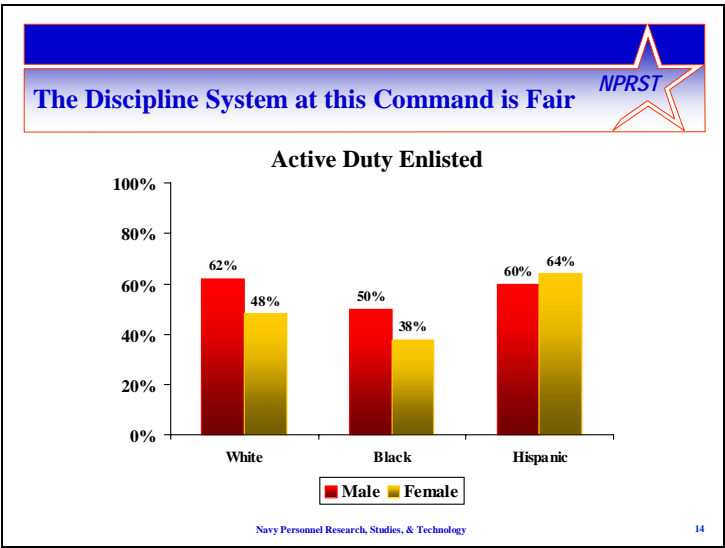
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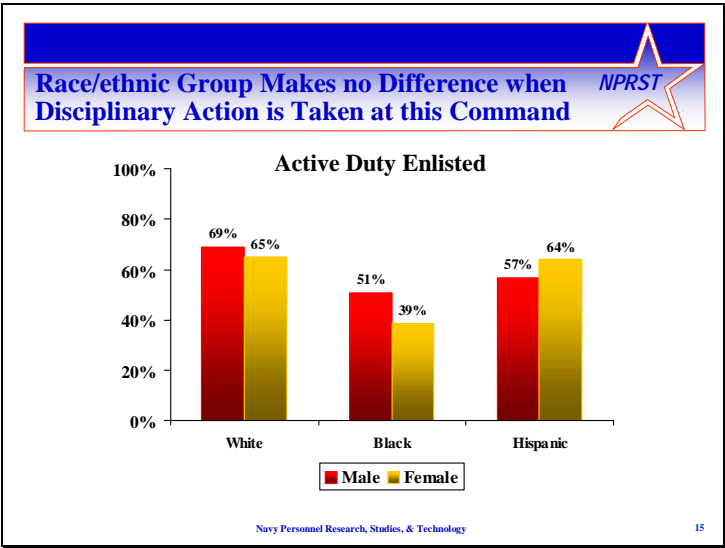
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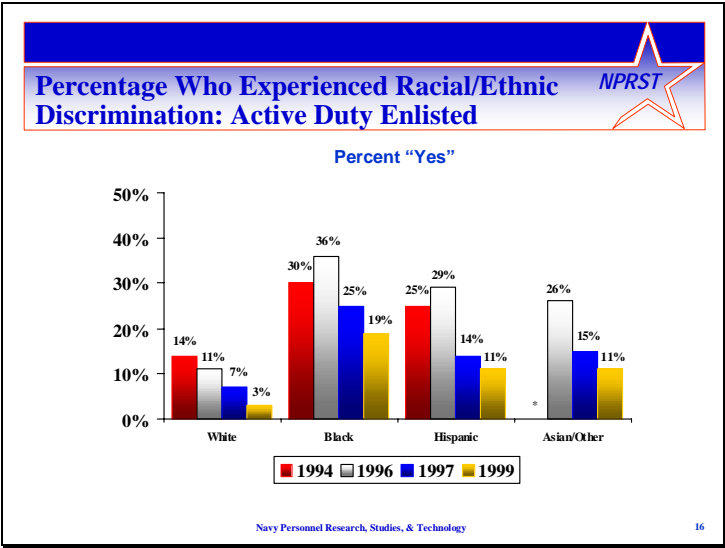
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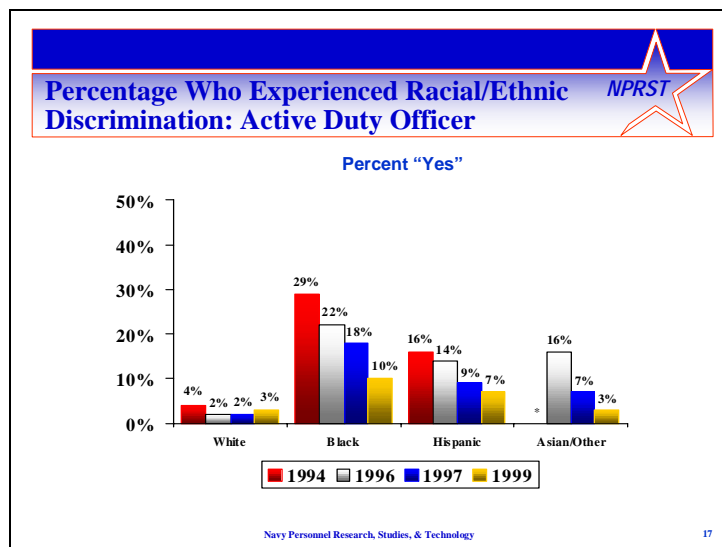
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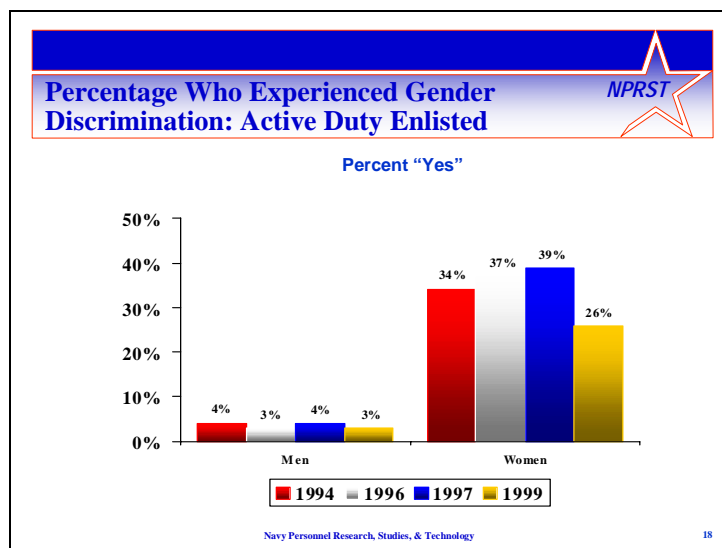
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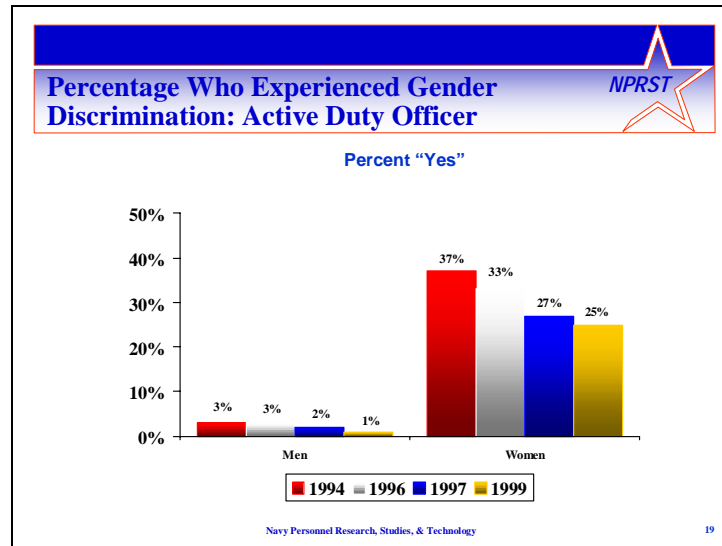
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Slide 19



Slide 20

Gender Discrimination Behaviors Experienced: Active Duty Women Enlisted *NPRST*

	1994	1996	1997	1999
Negative comments	56%	56%	58%	50%
Offensive jokes	47%	48%	47%	40%
Ignored by others	24%	23%	27%	26%
Excluded from office functions	-----	6%	8%	6%
Given menial jobs	22%	23%	24%	19%
Not asked to socialize	18%	19%	17%	12%
Denied potential reward/benefit	9%	11%	14%	8%
Physically threatened	7%	7%	7%	5%
Physically assaulted	6%	5%	5%	4%

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Gender Discrimination Behaviors Experienced: <i>NPRST</i> Active Duty Women Officers				
	1994	1996	1997	1999
Negative comments	49%	42%	41%	37%
Offensive jokes	36%	32%	26%	26%
Ignored by others	28%	24%	25%	29%
Excluded from office functions	-----	4%	7%	7%
Given menial jobs	12%	14%	11%	10%
Not asked to socialize	19%	16%	19%	13%
Denied potential reward/benefit	7%	8%	7%	6%
Physically threatened	4%	5%	2%	2%
Physically assaulted	2%	1%	1%	0%

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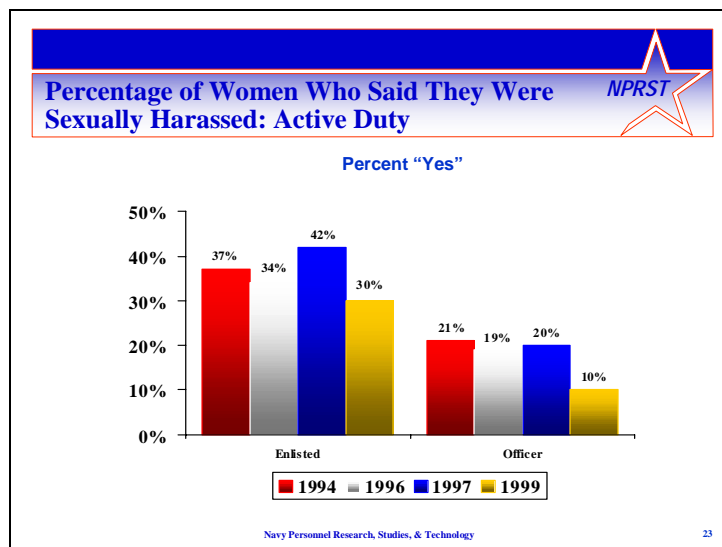
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Sexual Harassment Climate: <i>NPRST</i> Active Duty				
	Percent "Yes"			
	Enlisted		Officer	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
I have received training in the prevention of sexual harassment during the past year.	85%	83%	84%	83%
I can take what I learned in the sexual harassment prevention training and use it in my daily work environment.	79%	79%	84%	87%
I completely understand what words or actions are considered sexual harassment.	88%	95%	88%	93%
I personally have seen serious incidents of sexual harassment occurring at this command during the past year.	12%	28%	5%	13%
Leadership in my command holds sexual harassment offenders accountable.	66%	56%	79%	67%

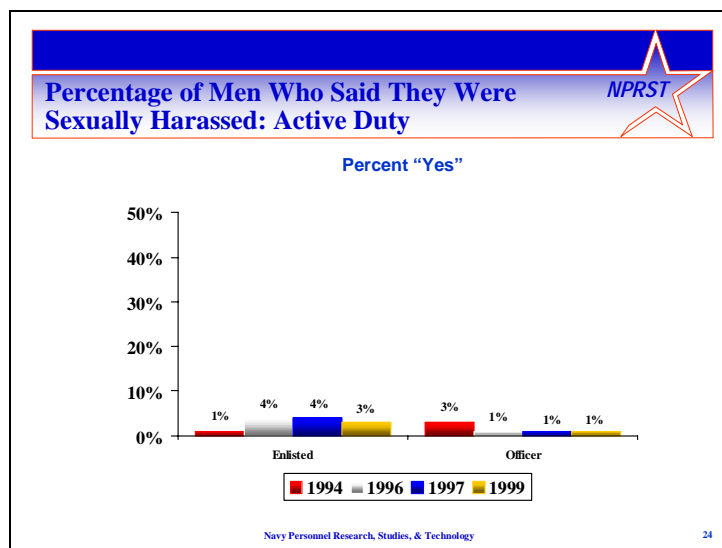
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Slide 24



Slide 25

<div> <div>Sexual Harassment Behaviors Experienced: Active Duty Women Enlisted</div> <div>NPRST</div> </div>				
	1994	1996	1997	1999
Sexual teasing, jokes	37%	36%	38%	27%
Sexual looks, staring	35%	34%	36%	25%
Deliberate touching	22%	21%	23%	17%
Pressure for dates	25%	23%	25%	21%
Letters, phone calls	15%	15%	18%	11%
Pressure for sexual favors	13%	12%	15%	11%
Stalking or invasion of residence	8%	11%	12%	8%
Actual or attempted rape/assault	8%	6%	9%	5%

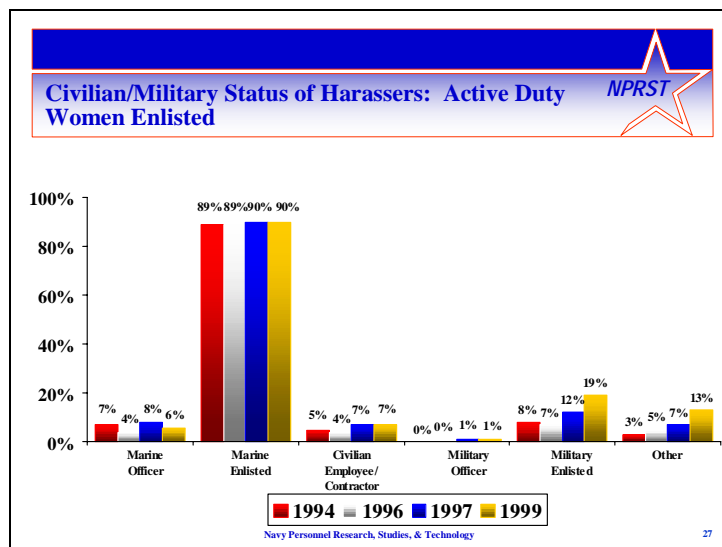
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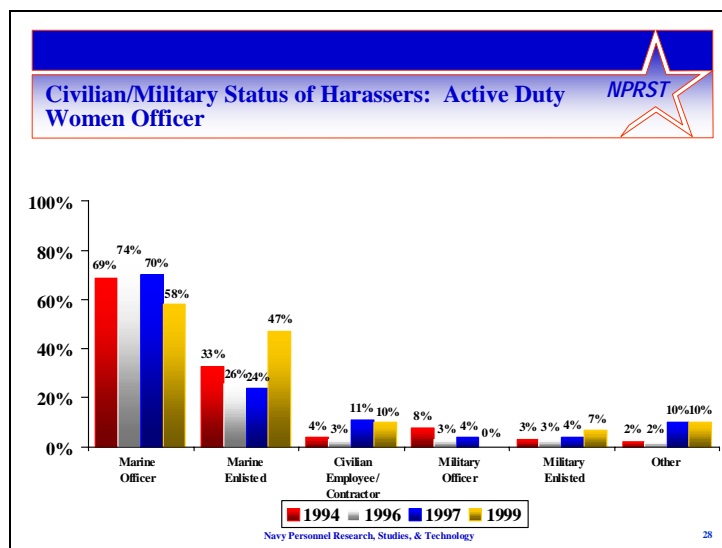
<div> <div>Sexual Harassment Behaviors Experienced: Active Duty Women Officer</div> <div>NPRST</div> </div>				
	1994	1996	1997	1999
Sexual teasing, jokes	18%	18%	15%	9%
Sexual looks, staring	17%	13%	12%	8%
Deliberate touching	6%	7%	8%	3%
Pressure for dates	6%	4%	8%	4%
Letters, phone calls	7%	7%	7%	4%
Pressure for sexual favors	2%	2%	2%	1%
Stalking or invasion of residence	3%	1%	1%	3%
Actual or attempted rape/assault	0%	0%	0%	0%

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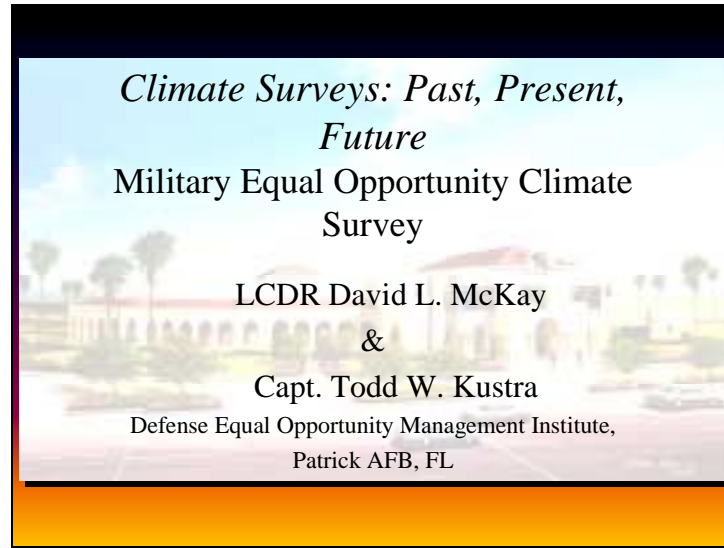
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Future Directions *NPRST*

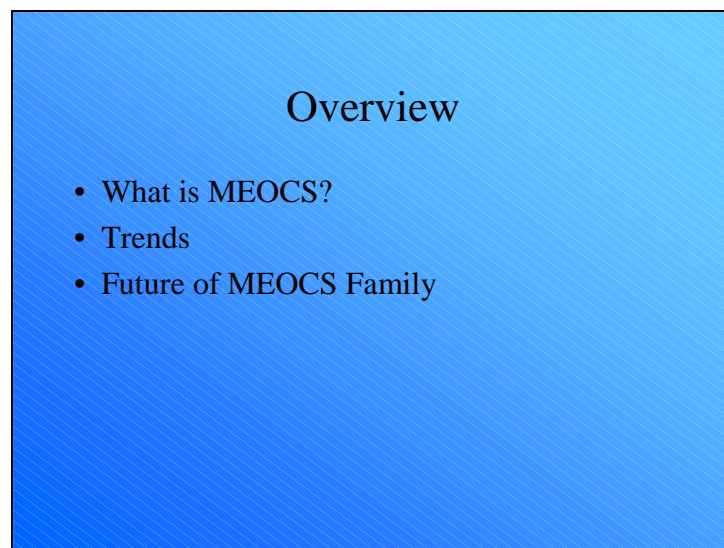
- ★ **2002 MCCS**
 - **Active-duty**
 - **Reserve**
- ★ **Currently being revised**
- ★ **Administration planned Spring 2002**
- ★ **Possible impact of Sept 11, 2001 to be assessed**

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What is MEOCS?

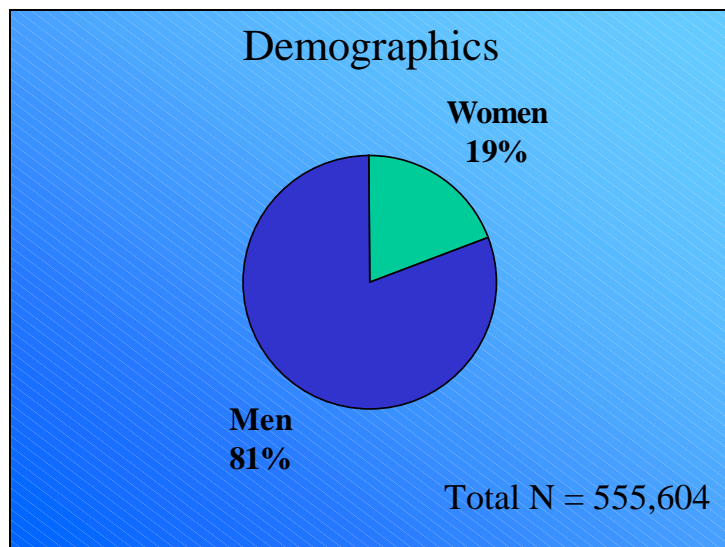
- Organizational development survey
- Focuses on perceptions
 - equal opportunity (EO)
 - organizational effectiveness (OE)
- Administered by request of commander
- Feedback is confidential to the commander
- Unit results added to overall database

Slide 4

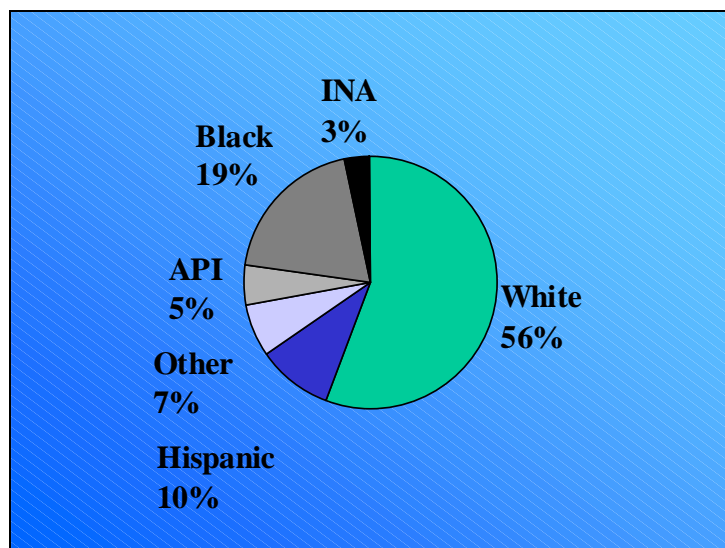
What is Measured?

- Unit-level EO Factors
- Organizational Effectiveness Factors
- General EO Perceptions
- Global Factor
 - Overall EO Climate

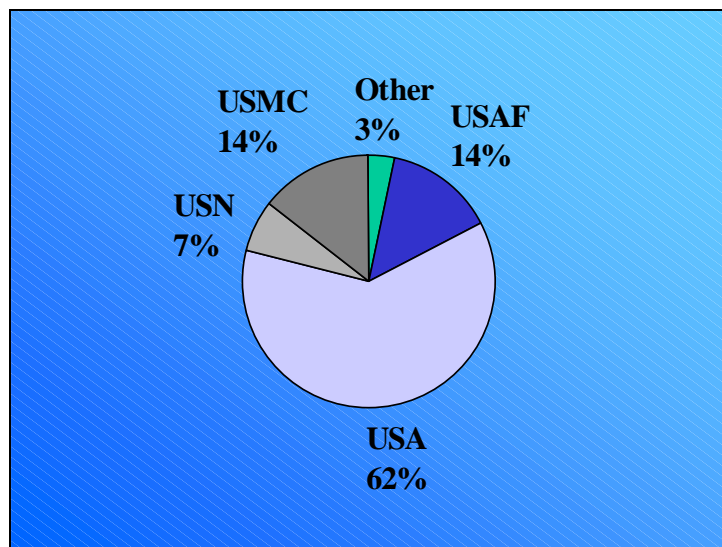
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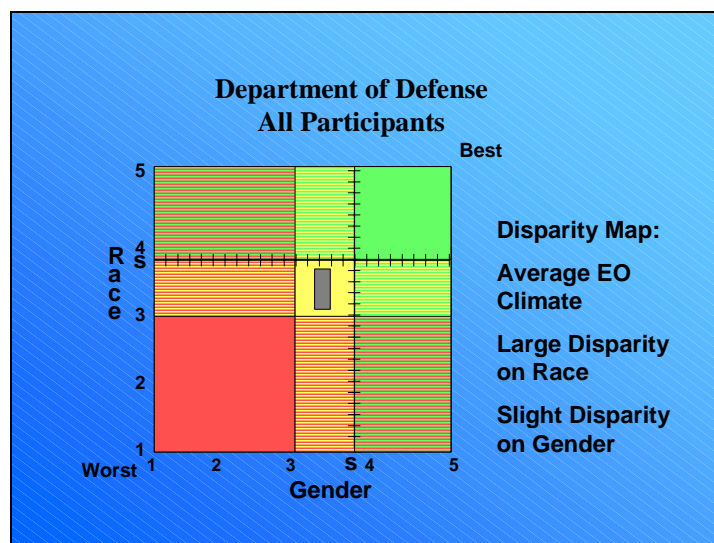
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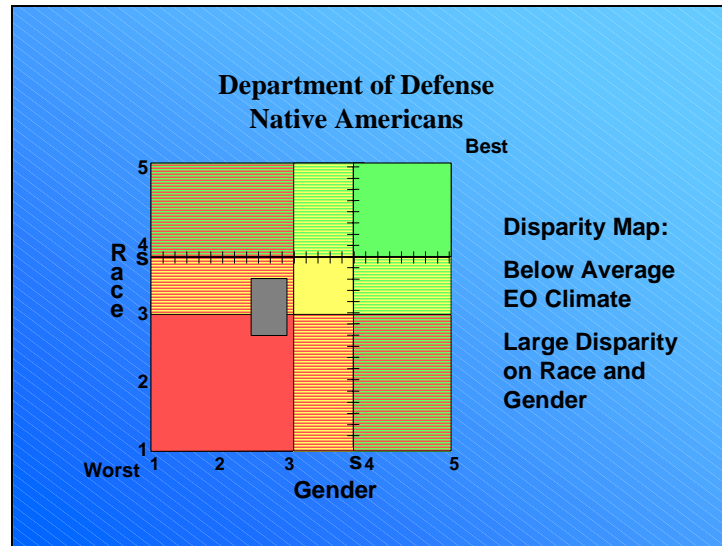
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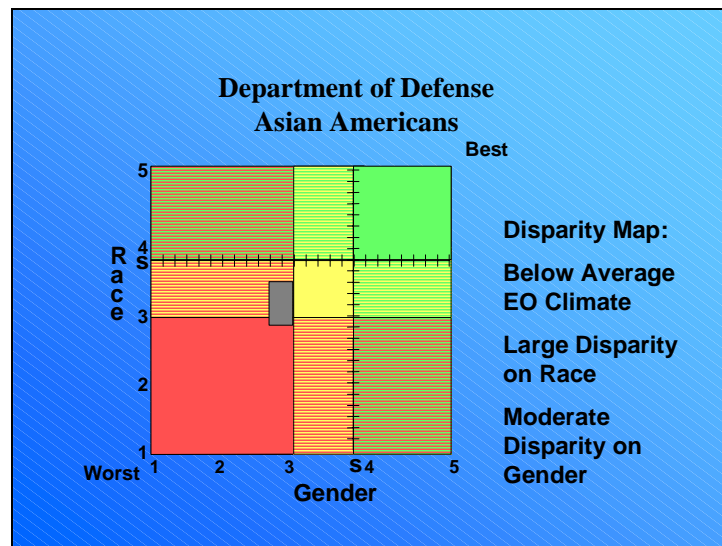
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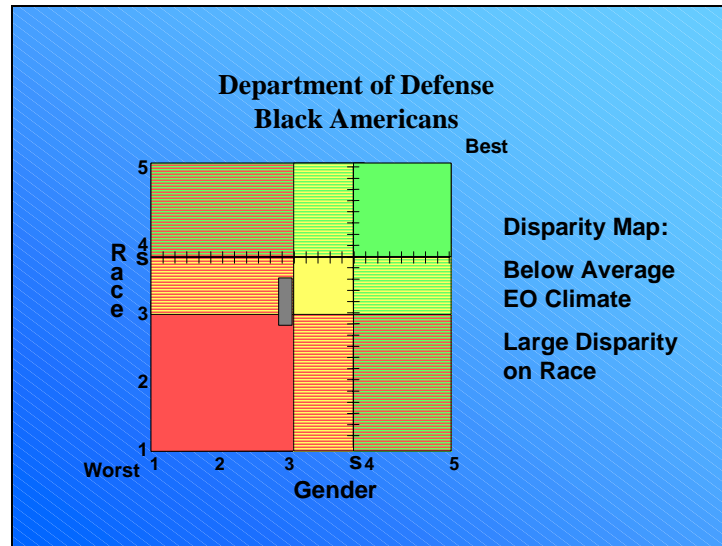
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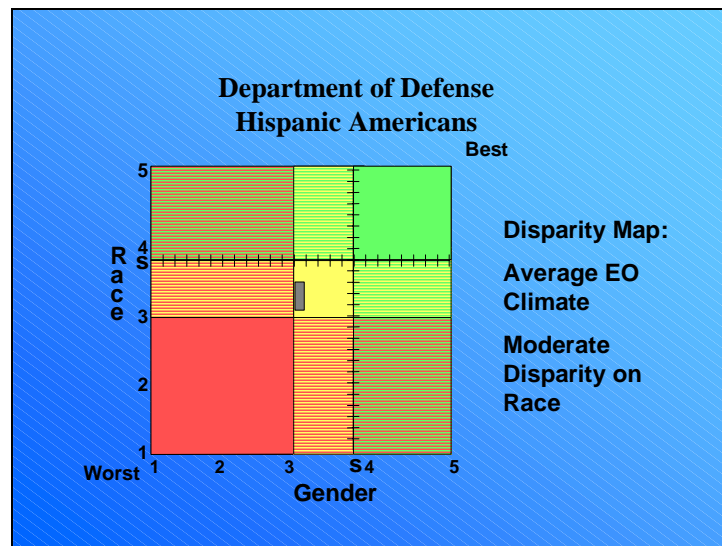
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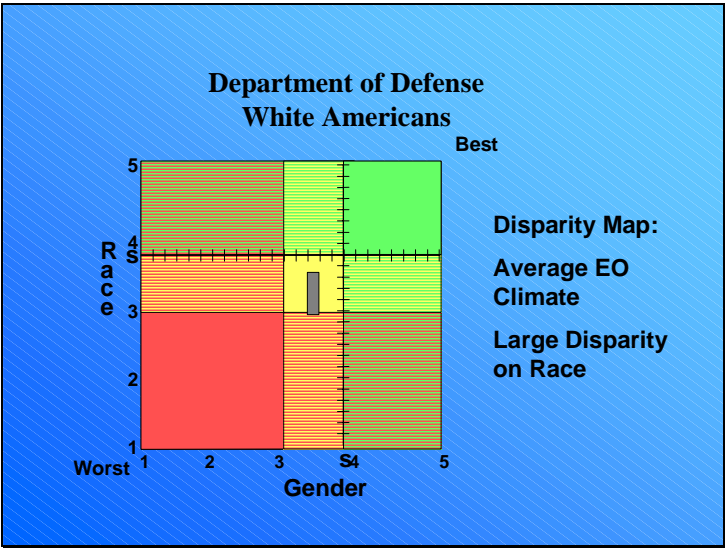
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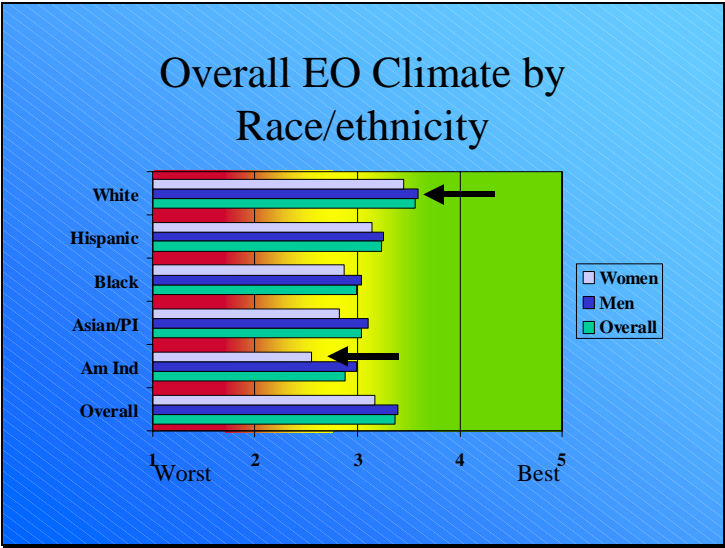
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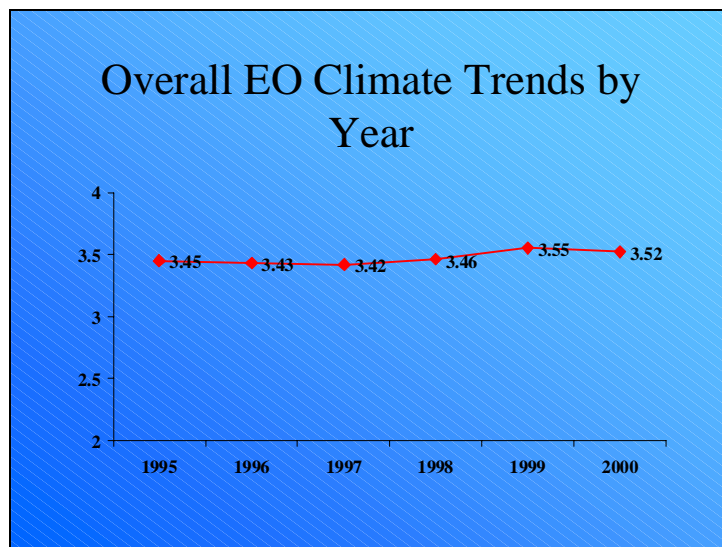
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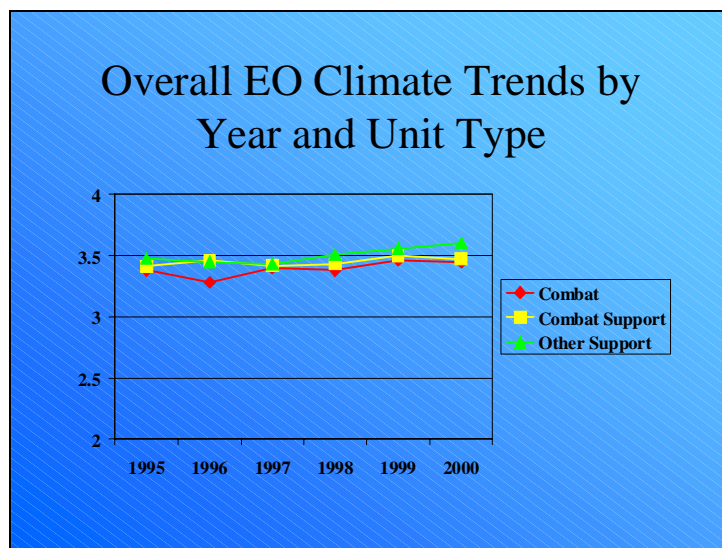
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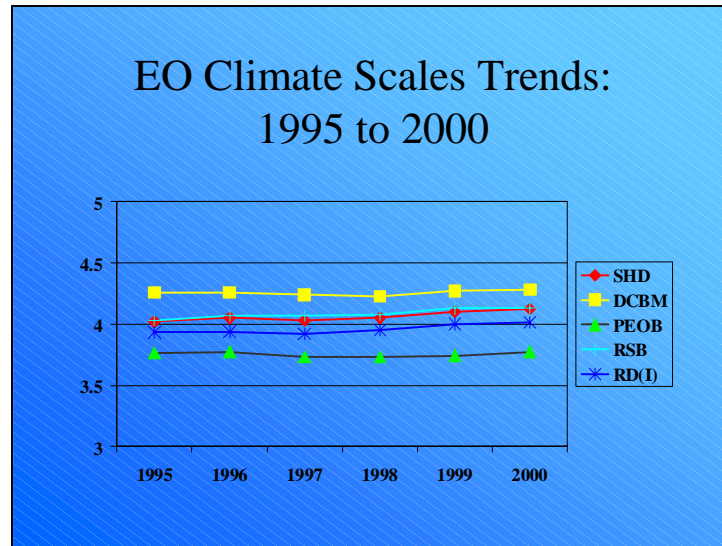
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The Future

Step One:

Three New Surveys

Questions have:

- neutral tone
- fewer items

- 1) Universal (ORI-U)
 - Unit-level Climate
 - Organizational Effectiveness
 - Organization-Wide Climate
- 2) Strategic OE & Civilian Climate (ORI-SOE/C)
 - Unit-level Climate
 - Expanded Strategic Organizational Effectiveness
 - Civilian Climate
- 3) Program Review (ORI-PR)
 - Unit-level Climate
 - Organizational Effectiveness
 - Program Evaluation/Review

Coming to you in January 2002 !


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The Horizon!

A MEOCS that can be customized using any of the 6 Organizational Readiness Indicators:

- Unit-level Climate
- Organization-Wide EO
- OE
- Expanded OE
- Civilian Climate
- EO/EEO Program Evaluation

Slide 1




M.R. (Mickey) Dansby, Ph.D.,
Organizational Consultant

**Diversity Climate Assessment:
Military & Civilian Differences**

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Overview

- Basic issues of metrics (measurement)
- Assessment
- Comparison between military and civilian environments

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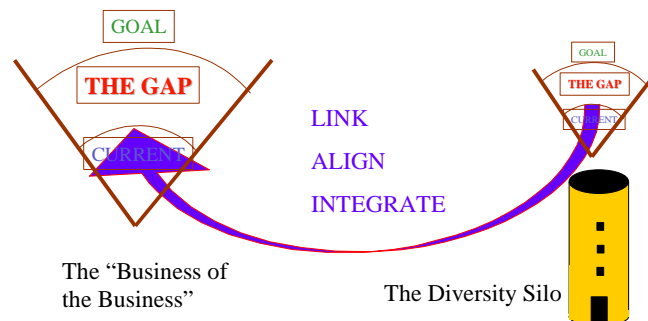
Basics in Measuring Diversity Progress




- Taking a strategic, process view
- Designing measures that are meaningful
- Using an assessment model that is action oriented

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The Gaps



Slide 5




Concerns in measurement

- Reliability - measures consistently
- Validity - measures what it is supposed to measure
- Sensitivity - detects meaningful differences

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Seven Deadly Sins of Measurement

What are some pitfalls to avoid in developing an assessment strategy?


(Seven Deadly Sins of Measurement)

- Trying to measure everything
- Not measuring the important things
- Not getting “buy in” from key stakeholders
- Trying to compare incomparables
- Statistical measurement errors
- Not designing measures for those who will use them
- Not using a systems approach

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Some basic questions about the
metrics of diversity

What is the best approach to metrics?

The issue of benchmarking;
the value of baselining
(discussion)

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Some basic questions about the
metrics of diversity (cont.)

What is the best approach to metrics?

Measures of outcomes and
measures of processes – the
merits of each
(discussion)

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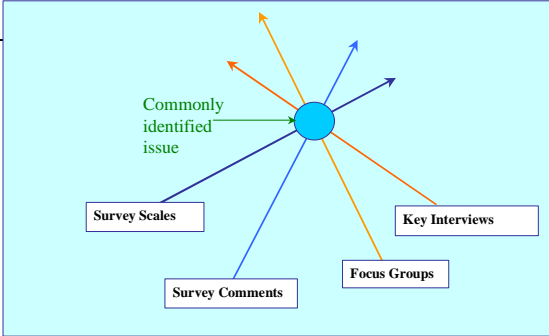
Assessment

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Triangulation Principle



The diagram illustrates the Triangulation Principle. A central blue circle is the focal point. Five arrows radiate from this circle to five rectangular boxes: 'Survey Scales' (top-left), 'Survey Comments' (bottom-left), 'Focus Groups' (bottom-right), 'Key Interviews' (top-right), and 'Commonly identified issue' (center). The arrows are colored: blue for 'Survey Scales', 'Survey Comments', and 'Key Interviews'; orange for 'Focus Groups'; and green for 'Commonly identified issue'.

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Steps in the Assessment

- Psychological Contract
- Survey
- Analysis of Survey
- Initial Survey Feedback
- Existing Data Review
- Focus Groups / Interviews
- Final Assessment Report
- Action Plan

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Assessment Considerations

- The importance of demographic comparisons
 - ✓ Group / subunit comparisons
- Sampling strategy
 - ✓ Census?
 - ✓ Stratified random sample?
- Method of survey administration
 - ✓ Office mail / U.S. Mail
 - ✓ Group sessions

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Assessment Considerations (cont.)

- Organizational records (by demographic group)
- Organizational HR policy documents
- EEO, sexual harassment, etc.
- Affirmative employment (action) plans
- Interview / Focus Groups Process

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Assessment Considerations (cont.)

- Proper analysis
 - Statistical comparisons
 - Significant differences / meaningful differences
- Balanced feedback
- Validation of survey with other data
- Feedback plan
 - Senior leadership/diversity committee
 - Organization members

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After the Assessment

- Action Planning
- Implementation
- Evaluation and continuous measurement

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Military – Civilian Survey Differences


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Dimension	Military	Civilian
Survey Questions	Standardized	Custom
Cost	Inexpensive or free	Expensive
Administration formats	All	All
Major perceived threats	Public opinion / politics	Litigation / public opinion
Strongest motive(s)	Regulatory / leadership	\$ / leadership

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Dimension	Military	Civilian
Comparison to norms	Relatively abundant, easy	Relatively few, hard
Similarities across organizations / environments	Moderately high	Relatively low
Ability to compare across time	Moderate	Low
Major issues	Race / Gender	Race / gender / domestic partners


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Dimension	Military	Civilian
Gender	Higher scores, but more disparity	Lower scores, less disparity
Race	Better	Worse
Sexual orientation	"Don't ask / tell / pursue"	Varies, but almost always an issue
Access	Relatively open	Relatively closed

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Questions

?

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Beyond Race and Gender: Motivating Enlisted Personnel to Remain in Today's Military

Brenda L. Moore, Ph.D.
State University of New York at Buffalo

Abstract

This paper provides a theoretical explanation for factors that have been found to influence the intentions of junior enlisted personnel to remain in today's military. Data from the Armed Forces 1996 Equal Opportunity Survey reveal that both the *pay and benefits* and *pride in service* variables have stronger effects on the propensity of junior-enlisted personnel to remain in the military than do the *race, gender, or racial climate variables*. Still, *satisfaction with pay and benefits* has a significant positive effect on the likelihood that respondents will stay in the military; *pride in service* is more robust.

This finding has policy implications for the recruitment and retention of today's military personnel. The neoclassical, economic paradigm that has formed the basis of the Services' recruitment and retention policies since the advent of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) is deficient in addressing the intangible needs of military personnel. A central theme of this study is that the military institution must change its paradigm if it is to adequately address current problems of recruitment and retention. As illustrated in this paper, Etzioni's socioeconomic paradigm provides a plausible alternative to the laissez-faire, neoclassical model currently employed by the U.S. Department of Defense. The socioeconomic model, unlike the neoclassical model, assumes that people make decisions not only out of self-interest, but also because they are part of a larger community. I propose that a socioeconomic paradigm allow for the military to develop policies that address non-economic as well as economic factors that influence men and women to remain in the military.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense

Beyond Race and Gender: Motivating Enlisted Personnel to Remain in Today's Military

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to provide a theoretical explanation for factors that have been found to influence the propensity of men and women to serve in the American Armed Forces. Moskos' institution/occupation model and Etzioni's socioeconomic paradigm are major sociological frameworks that help to explain and critique the structure of today's military. While the military has maintained a certain degree of autonomy over the last three decades, it has increasingly reflected broader societal trends, and is becoming more like labor market organizations in the civilian society. The case will be made that changes that have accompanied the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) have reduced military service to an occupation. Further, this has had more negative than positive consequences for the quality of military personnel, the social representation of the Armed Forces, as well as for recruitment and retention rates.

The analysis will be guided by the following four propositions: **Proposition 1.** Today's military personnel are motivated to serve by non-material factors as well as economic factors. **Proposition 2.** The All-Volunteer Force is premised on a philosophy that emphasizes marketplace incentives. **Proposition 3.** The All-Volunteer Force provides a favorable equal opportunity climate as well as favorable employment opportunities for racial minorities and women. **Proposition 4.** The incentives currently used by the Armed Forces to motivate personnel to serve on active-duty are deficient in addressing the normative need for group affiliation. Most of the data for this study are provided by the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), and the Department of Defense (DoD) 1996 Equal Opportunity Survey.

Recruiting Quality Personnel and Retaining Them

On June 14, 2001, the Associated Press published findings of a Rand Corporation study on ways of improving life for people in the military. The study was commissioned by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to implement policies on "reshaping the U.S. nuclear forces, improving the Pentagon's financial management, and transforming the military to a more mobile force." U.S. retired Navy Admiral, David Jeremiah, led the study. In a DoD news briefing held on June 13th, Jeremiah announced that the propensity of men and women to join today's U.S. military is low. He identified the following four key areas

for the Department of Defense to address in resolving its recruitment and retention issues: *workplace, force management, personnel and family support, and leadership*.

For workplace improvements, Jeremiah recommended that the Services modernize the infrastructure of their installations by improving facilities to enhance the abilities of members to work more effectively. Among his recommendations for force management, Jeremiah suggested a military pay increase for performance in the workplace. In his words, “. . . some people will get paid more because they have special skills, and that’s the way of the world” (Associated Press 2001). Another recommendation Jeremiah made is for DoD to improve personnel and family benefits. Using the military’s medical system as a case in point, he pointed out that *Tricare* has been under funded for a long period of time.

Perhaps the most challenging of Jeremiah’s recommendations were directed at military leaders. According to Jeremiah, before the military can resolve the recruitment issue, leaders must convince subordinates, as well as the general public, that military service is a *noble* profession. It is up to the leaders, Jeremiah argued, to convey to military personnel that the work they do is both noble and appreciated. Additionally, he asserted, the American public needs to know that the military offers occupations “that their sons and daughters can be committed to because there are careful stewards who will train them, and lead them, and protect them, and never waste them inappropriately” (Associated Press 2001).

Jeremiah correctly identified the intangible reward of appreciation, and the belief that military work is noble, as being the types of compensation that lead people to choose to serve in the military. As he eloquently stated, “It is compensation that you don’t get by more pay; it is compensation that leads people to choose that profession because they believe in patriotism, they believe in their country, they believe in discipline, they believe in things that the military represents.” Jeremiah alludes to the fact that there exists a deficiency in the current military paradigm in addressing the intangible needs of military personnel. Additionally, he places the onus of correcting this flaw on the shoulders of military leaders. For Jeremiah, this problem would be resolved if leaders “communicate nobility and value of military service, engage the public, reinforce integrity throughout the chain of command, and improve the command climate.”

Previous studies support Jeremiah’s assessment about intangible rewards. Indeed, nonmaterial factors significantly motivate persons to serve in the military. Looking at the patterns of recruitment and retention of enlistees during the early phases of the AVF, John Faris found that success in recruiting and retaining soldiers resided in the persistence of a “citizenship soldier ethic.” Faris observed further that while the citizenship concept attenuated before the end of the draft system, a residue of the concept remains in the AVF (Faris 1984). In a more recent study, Moore (2000) found that *pride in service* influences enlisted members to serve longer terms of service (Moore 2000). Analyzing data from DoD’s 1996 *Equal Opportunity Survey* (EOS), she found the variable, *pride in service*, to be a more powerful predictor of the propensity of enlisted military personnel to remain in the military than *satisfaction with pay and benefits*

(Moore 2000; also see Table in Appendix A). While other variables, such as marital status, educational attainment, racial climate, and the combined effects of race/ethnicity and gender were significant, none of them had as much explanatory power as did *pride in service* (Moore 2000; Table in Appendix A). These findings suggest that the neoclassical, economic model, which dominates policies on military personnel, is inadequate in addressing the desire that service members have for community pride and group affiliation.

The Military Is More Than Just A Job

The military is a social institution that bears both similarities and dissimilarities with other institutions in American society. Like other institutions, it fulfills a societal need, and reflects the values of the broader society. Military organizations are conservative and seek not to change laws, but to uphold and defend the U.S. Constitution. Additionally, the military is to some degree controlled by external power, as it is dependent upon the civilian society for its resources (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Still, the military is a unique social institution, charged with the inimitable task of national defense. As stated by Military Sociologist Charles Moskos,

The nation has entrusted its armed forces with responsibilities rarely, if ever, found in civilian life: defending the national interest, the real possibility that military members will risk life and limb in that role, and, in recent years, the awesome responsibility of deploying and guarding the nuclear arsenal (Moskos and Wood 1985:5).

Unlike most social institutions in the United States, the military has a coercive compliance structure and follows two imperatives for personnel recruitment and assignments: military effectiveness, and citizenship rights and responsibilities. The United States' definition of citizenship is rooted in the English notion of obligation as well as rights (see: Marshall 1963; Janowitz 1983:1-3; Segal 1989:97-99). Historically, the U.S. military has been an avenue of upward mobility for ethnic immigrants and racial minorities who were able to obtain citizenship rights as a result of fulfilling the obligation of military service. During the Vietnam Era, the citizenship right to vote was extended to American 18-year-olds as a result of military service. This was accomplished in 1971 through the passage of the 26th Amendment. In addition to group rights, individual members receive benefits for having served in the Armed Services. Among the many individual rights for military service are educational benefits, home mortgages, and retirement benefits.

**Proposing an All-Volunteer Force (AVF):
Accompanying Structural Changes, And Voiced Concerns**

The Gates Commission:

On March 27, 1969, the President of the United States issued an announcement that he had appointed an advisory commission on an all-volunteer-armed force under the chairmanship of former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates. The commission had been directed to develop a comprehensive plan for eliminating conscription (the military draft) and moving toward an All-Volunteer Force. An AVF, commissioners argued, would strengthen American freedom by removing the inequity imposed on the expression of patriotism. They also declared that an AVF would promote the efficiency of the Armed Forces, and enhance its dignity (U.S. President's Commission 1970).

During the time the Gates Commission was appointed, the United States involvement in the Vietnam War was being challenged and the military draft was under attack. The American public was concerned that the draft was too costly, and was a divisive procedure in procuring personnel for national defense. The commission echoed some of these concerns and argued that the draft imposed heavy burdens on a small minority of young men while easing the tax burden for everyone else. Further, commissioners asserted that the draft had introduced needless uncertainty into the lives of all young American men, and had burdened draft boards with decisions about who should serve and who should be deferred. According to the Gates Commission, the military draft had weakened the political fabric of society (U.S. President's Commission 1970).

Noteworthy is the fact that this was not the first time in American history that obligatory service was opposed. Opposition to a large standing army surfaced as early as the Colonial period (O'Sullivan and Meckler 1974; Segal 1989:17-44). For many colonists, the idea of a military establishment was associated with the religious and political oppression characteristic of the armies in seventeenth century Europe. Soon after the War of Independence, the Continental Congress reduced the standing army. As a consequence, the colonies were too weak to suppress the Shay's Rebellion. This led to a Constitutional Convention, which was called in 1787 to resolve the dilemma of a Federal Government that was either too weak to protect against invasion, or so powerful as to interfere with the independence of the former colonies. The resolve was that the Federal Government had the authority to tax, develop, and maintain an army and navy, and to declare war (Segal 1989).

Hence, the American government has always been confronted with the conflicting issue of military preparedness and the democratic freedom of choice. This debate surfaced again during the War of 1812, during the burning of the nation's capital in 1814, the Mexican War in 1846, the Civil War in 1863, the War against Spain in 1898, and again when Congress passed the draft law in 1940. It then follows that by the late 1960s the military draft was once more on the political agenda.

The Gates Commission recommended that the U.S. Government move towards an All-Volunteer Force by making several structural changes. One recommendation was for the military to raise the average level of basic pay for personnel in their first two years of service. Another suggestion was for the U.S. Government to make comprehensive improvements in the conditions of military service. Finally, the commission advised that a standby draft system be established and activated by joint resolution of Congress upon request of the President.

Objections to an All-Volunteer Force:

The idea of an All-Volunteer Force raised concerns among many military scholars and government officials. Some feared that an AVF would be too costly for the nation to afford. Another concern was that an AVF would lack the flexibility to expand rapidly in times of sudden crises. It was also argued that an AVF would undermine patriotism by weakening the traditional belief that each citizen has a moral responsibility to serve the country. Some made the case that the presence of draftees in a conscripted force guards against the growth of a separate military ethos. Consistent with this argument was the matter that an All-Volunteer Force could pose a threat to civilian authority, American freedom, and democratic institutions (U.S. President's Commission 1970).

Another set of objections centered on the issue of social representation. Critics argued that the higher pay associated with an AVF would be especially appealing to African Americans, who have relatively poorer occupational opportunities in the civilian sector. They worried that high rates of unemployment in the civilian sector combined with higher re-enlistment rates for African Americans would lead to a disproportionate number of them serving on active-duty. These critics claimed that the rate of White enlistment and reenlistment might decline due to a greater presence of African Americans, which could lead to an all-Black-enlisted force. They argued further that the problem would only be exacerbated by a resulting Black resentment at bearing an undue share of the burden of defense.

Similarly, some argued that most of the individuals joining an AVF would be from the lowest economic classes, motivated primarily by monetary rewards rather than by patriotism. Still another concern was that a voluntary force would be less effective because not enough highly qualified youths would be likely to enlist and pursue military careers. Table 1 contains a list of several arguments that were posed against an AVF, and the Gates Commission's responses to them.

Table 1

Objections Raised Against An All-Volunteer Force and The Gates Commission's Responses

OBJECTION	GATES COMMISSION'S RESPONSE
Too costly for the nation to afford	An AVF would be less costly than the cost of a mixed force of volunteers and conscripts as some of the costs of a mixed force appears as tax-in-kind and are not

Motivating Enlisted Personnel to Remain

	recorded in the budget. A draft imposes social and human costs by distorting the personal life plans of youth, and by forcing society to deal with difficult problems like that of conscientious objection.
An AVF would lack the flexibility to expand rapidly.	Military preparedness depends on forces already in place and not on the ability to draft untrained men. A standby draft could be put into effect promptly.
An AVF would undermine patriotism by weakening the traditional belief that each citizen has a moral responsibility to serve the country.	Compelling service through a draft undermines respect for the government by forcing individuals to serve in a manner that the government decides without regard to the individual's values and talents. A voluntary decision is the best answer both morally and practically as to who should serve in the military.
Doing away with the presence of draftees in a mixed force may lead to a separate military ethos among military members that could pose a threat to civilian authority, American freedom, and democratic institutions.	In the United States and England, where voluntarism has been used consistently, there is the strongest tradition of civilian control of the military. The attitudes of the officer corps are the preponderant factor in the psychology of the military; and with or without the draft, professional officers are recruited voluntarily. Eliminating conscription in the lowest ranks would not threaten the tradition of civilian control.
Higher pay required for an AVF would be especially appealing to Blacks who have poor occupational opportunities in the civilian sector. This combined with higher re-enlistment rates of Blacks would lead to a disproportionate number of Blacks in the military. White enlistment will decline leading to an all-Black enlisted force.	If higher pay makes opportunities in the AVF more appealing to some groups in society that do not find such attractive alternatives in civilian life, then the appropriate course of action is to correct the discrimination in civilian life and not to introduce additional discrimination in the military against such groups.
Those joining the AVF will be individuals from the lowest economic classes, motivated primarily by monetary rewards rather than by patriotism. An AVF would be staffed by mercenaries.	By maintaining the existing mental, physical, and moral standards, the AVF would not differ significantly from one of conscripts and volunteers.
An AVF would foster an irresponsible foreign policy.	The AVF would have the same professional leadership; changes in the lower ranks will not alter the character of leadership, the degree of civilian control, nor would it affect foreign policy.
Not enough highly qualified youth will join.	Improved compensation, conditions of service, proficiency pay, and accelerated promotions will make the AVF attractive to the highly skilled.
The Department of Defense will cut back expenditures in other areas.	The size of the defense budget depends on public attitude, not on a change to an AVF.

An Assessment of the All-Volunteer Force

Since the advent of the AVF in 1973, there has been a growing similarity between the organizational structure of the military and that of the civilian labor market. For example, there is a greater similarity between military and civilian leadership style; military leaders tend to use a more collegial and less authoritarian method of leading. Morris Janowitz forecasted this trend more than a decade before the AVF came into being (see Janowitz 1960). There is also more similarity between civilian and military occupations as far as the work that people do (Biderman and Sharp 1968). Much of this convergence is attributable to the rise in technology that has influenced the world of work in all arenas. However, this trend has become even more apparent in the military since

the AVF has come into being. Studies have also shown that since the AVF has been in effect, military personnel display political attitudes more like those displayed by men and women in civilian society (Janowitz and Moskos 1979). These and other structural changes have redefined the U.S. military as discussed in further detail below.

Moskos' I/O Model

To illustrate the structural changes in the U.S. military that have been ushered in with the AVF, it is useful to examine Moskos' seminal *institution/occupational* model. In 1977, Moskos conceptualized the military organization in terms of two ideal-typical models: institutional and occupational. He observed that the American military was moving from an institutional format to one resembling an occupation. The institutional model, Moskos claimed, emphasizes organizational interest and self-sacrifice. Moreover, an institution is legitimated in terms of values and norms. It is an establishment in which members have a purpose transcending self-interest in favor of a presumed higher good, and is often viewed as following a calling. In addition, Moskos asserted that members of an institution generally regard themselves as being different or apart from the broader society, and are so regarded by others. Finally, members of an institution are recipients of a paternalistic-remunerative system; payment in kind rather than in cash. Moskos' institutional model is analogous to Ferdinand Tonnies' characterization of close-knit societies (*gemeinschaft*), in which people stress intimate personal relationships, and share values and sentiments (See Henslin 2001:107).

Military service, as Moskos illustrated, has traditionally had many institutional features. Historically, and still today, military personnel have been subjected to military discipline and law. They are also prohibited from resigning, striking, or negotiating for improved working conditions. Service members have been recipients of a paternalistic-remunerative system in the form of food, housing, uniforms, and subsidized consumer facilities on military installations (Moskos 1977). The selective service system was premised on the notion of citizen obligation, with concomitant low salaries for junior enlisted personnel. Further, the military institution has been organized vertically in which members acquire an understanding and sense of responsibility for the performance of the whole. Moskos asserted that being a part of the military has traditionally been more important than the fact that military members do different jobs.

An organizational model, by contrast, implies self-interest, rather than that of the employing organization, and is legitimated in terms of the marketplace (*laissez-faire* economics). Hence, monetary rewards are given for equivalent competencies. Supply and demand rather than normative considerations are paramount. Occupations are organized horizontally. Moskos' organizational model parallels Tonnies' *gesellschaft* societies in which human interaction is likely to reflect self-interest, individualism, and impersonality (see Henslin 2001:107). Moskos asserted that while an all-volunteer military in and of itself need not be correlated with an occupational model, the architects of the present AVF chose the occupational model as their paradigm. Indeed, the Armed Forces have always contained elements of both the institutional and occupational formats. However, the contemporary military leans more toward an occupational format, a trend

that was catapulted by the end of the draft. While institutional features exist in today's military, they are less pronounced than they were during the draft era.

Consequences of an Occupational Orientation

The occupational orientation of the AVF has raised questions about consequences for the overall mission of the U.S. military. Moskos and Wood (1988) argued quite cogently that an occupational orientation (what the authors refer to as *occupationalism*) is in fact detrimental to military effectiveness in terms of performance, motivation, and military professionalism. Institutional identification, they argue, fosters greater organizational commitment and performance than does occupational commitment (Moskos and Wood 1988:4-5). They argue further that the military requires a level of commitment to work performance unparalleled in the civilian sector. As stated by Moskos and Wood,

The armed forces require certain behavior from their members that can never be made to serve individual interests, certainly not in a narrow economic sense. Internalization of institutional values implies nearly unbounded definitions of tasks and the manner in which these tasks are to be carried out. The logic of *occupationalism*, conversely, is to define task boundaries and to set standards of accomplishment that, if met, signify adequate performance. In general, an occupation pays enough to fill the job and to get it done----no more. (Moskos and Wood 1988:5)

Another consequence of *occupationalism*, Moskos and Wood (1988) argued, is that it has replaced motivation based on personal values (*intrinsic*) with motivation based on pay (*extrinsic*). Citing from Barry Shaw's work on intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, they claim that the interaction between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards can be non-additive (Shaw 1976; Moskos and Wood 1988). In other words, inducing military members to perform tasks with the use of extrinsic rewards "may create behavior that will not be performed in the future except for even greater extrinsic rewards" (Moskos and Wood 1988:5). Furthermore, they argue, the Armed Forces may be weakening intrinsic motivation in personnel by using extrinsic rewards, and thereby increasing their expectation for pay.

A third effect of *occupationalism* for Moskos and Wood (1988) is that it undermines military professionalism. By this, the authors are referring to the way that decisions are made in the Armed Forces. *Occupationalism* reduces the military function to dollars, and concurrently reduces decisions on military organization and personnel to a cost-benefit analysis. Consequently, "decisions are removed from the military profession. An institutional approach, on the contrary, never loses sight of the uniqueness of military organization in a democratic society" (Moskos and Wood 1988:5). Table 2 summarizes the consequences of *occupationalism* for the U.S. military as advanced by Moskos and Wood.

Table 2

**Consequences of *Occupationalism* of the U.S. Military
According to Moskos and Wood (1988)**

Variable	Institution (draft era)	Occupation (AVF era)
Mission Performance	An effective leader motivates members to do more than they are supposed to do.	An effective manager prevails on workers to do just what they are supposed to do.
Motivation	Members are <i>intrinsically</i> motivated. They act out of personal values.	Workers are <i>extrinsically</i> motivated. They act out of a desire for monetary pay.
Decision Making	Is in the hands of military professionals and is largely internal to the military.	Is reduced to cost-benefit analysis, undermines military professionalism, and is external to the military.

Trends in Personnel Quality, Representation, and Retention Rates

Thus far some historical factors have been examined that led to the American AVF, as well as theoretical critiques of it. What follows is a discussion about statistical trends in personnel quality, representation, and retention rates since the advent of the AVF, with a focus on how well the data support the theories.

Quantity and Quality Issues:

Following the arrival of the AVF, military scholars raised questions as to whether or not the Services had been able to meet their personnel objectives. Another concern was whether or not the quality of recruits had been sacrificed in any way. Exploring these inquiries, Curtis Gilroy, Bob Phillips and John Blair separated the AVF into four analytic phases: 1973-1976, 1977-1979, 1980-1982, and 1983-1987 (Gilroy, Phillips, and Blair 1990). They found that the Army was able to meet numerical and quality goals during the years 1973-1976 (the first phase) because the highly popular *GI Bill of Rights* was still in effect. There was also an expanding youth population, and rising unemployment rates that made the military an attractive alternative.

The Second Phase (1977-1979) was the Army's worst recruiting period because the American economy had expanded and unemployment rates dropped. Recruiting resources were thought to be more than adequate and became a target for budget cuts (Perhaps the most noticeable cut was in December 1976 with the expiration of the GI Bill

of Rights.) Additionally, the growth in the youth population had leveled off (Gilroy, Phillips, and Blair 1990). In another study, Janowitz and Moskos (1979) found a decline in the educational levels of new Army male recruits during this period, which reflected the difficulty the Army was experiencing in recruiting.

During the third phase (1980-1982), the Army met both quantity and quality objectives. This, the authors attributed to a military pay raise by Congress in 1982. In addition, the civilian unemployment rate was once again on the rise. Finally, the Services were devoting more resources to advertising, which in turn, played a very influential role in attracting quality recruits (Gilroy, Phillips, and Blair 1990).

The most interesting finding was of the fourth and final phase in the analysis (1983-1987). Although the youth population was actually decreasing, and unemployment rates were also going down, the Army was still able to attract quality personnel. The authors explained this finding in terms of the new educational incentive known as the Army College Fund (ACF). The ACF functioned as an incentive for intelligent, college bound youth to join the military, a segment of the population who would otherwise be disinclined to do so. The author's conclusion was that the U.S. military would continue to attract quality personnel so long as it offered pecuniary rewards such as pay, bonuses, and educational benefits, and non-pecuniary rewards such as perceived applicability of service training to later civilian life. They also recommended that the Services select the appropriate people for recruiting duty and provide them with appropriate incentives (Gilroy, Phillips, and Blair 1990).

In more recent years, the quality of recruits has increased. Today, 99 percent of military accessions with no prior service are high school graduates, and more of them are scoring higher on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT), indicating high achievement. (The AFQT is a composite of 4 of the 10 components of the Armed Forces Vocational Aptitude Battery. This battery of test is given to applicants at high schools, Military Entrance Processing Stations (MEPS), or independent sites, and is used to determine eligibility of military applicants.) Seventy-five percent of military recruits in 1991 scored in the upper 50th percentile of the AFQT (U.S. OASD 1999). A current problem faced by all of the services is that of retaining a sufficient number of personnel (discussed more below under retention).

Social Representation of the AVF

Race/Ethnicity

Since the AVF has been in effect, the number of African Americans in the military has increased. During the early phases of the AVF, African Americans tended to be concentrated in low-skilled fields, as opposed to technical specialties, but they tended to be well educated. Janowitz and Moskos found that during the 1970s, the proportion of Black high school graduates entering the Army had exceeded that of Whites. This trend was becoming even more obvious in 1977 when African Americans entering the Army were better educated than their White counterparts. They accounted for 65 percent of the

high school graduates compared to the 53 percent of entering Whites (Janowitz and Moskos 1979). The U.S. Army's enlisted force was the only major organization in American society where Black educational levels surpassed that of Whites, and by a noteworthy margin. Still, non-commissioned and junior commissioned officers complained that many entrants with high school diplomas did not possess the educational attainment normally associated with completion of high school (Janowitz and Moskos 1979).

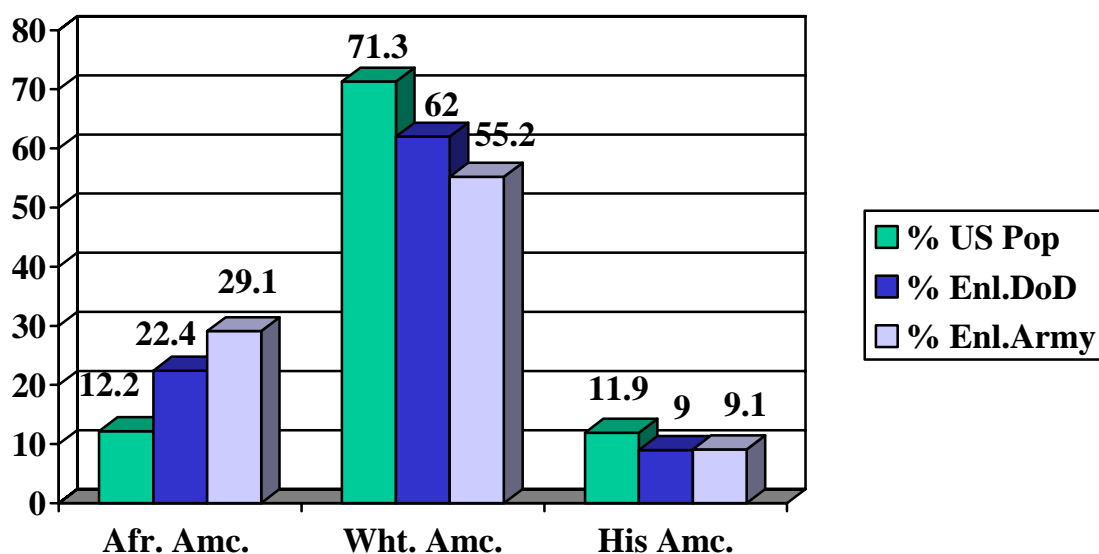
Janowitz and Moskos illustrated further that the Army's enlisted ranks reflected increasing reliance on two discrete streams: one from minorities, principally Blacks, but also Hispanics, and the all-volunteer army attracted not only a disproportionate number of minorities, but also an unrepresentative segment of the White youth population (Janowitz and Moskos 1979).

Today, African Americans serve in the military at a rate disproportionately higher than their representation in the broader society (see Figure 1). While they make up 12.2 percent of the American population, they are 22.4 percent of the enlisted force of all DoD, and 29.1 percent of the enlisted force of the Army (see Figure 1). This overrepresentation reflects greater opportunities for African Americans in the military as compared with those of the civilian sector. African Americans are not only overrepresented in the enlisted ranks, but they are also represented at all rank levels from private to sergeant major.

Conversely, the representation of Whites and, to a lesser degree, Hispanics in the military is lower than their population in the broader society (see Figure 1). White Americans represent 71.3 percent of the American population and only 62 percent of the enlisted force of DoD, and 55.2 percent of the Army's enlisted members (see Figure 1). This gap is less pronounced for Hispanics whose numbers have been continually increasing in the military in recent years. Hispanics make up 11.9 percent of the overall population and approximately 9 percent of the enlisted forces in DoD and the Army (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

**Race/Ethnic Representation of the Total U.S. Population, DoD,
And the U.S. Army as of 2000 (Sources: DMDC and U.S. Census)**



An examination of the racial/ethnic distribution of DoD over the last thirteen years shows a slight decrease in representation of Whites from 1988-1992, and again from 1993-1998 (see Figure B-1 in Appendix B). The representation of Whites increased in 1999, and has been relatively stable from 2000-2001 (see Figure B-1 in Appendix B). In the Army, the representation of Whites decreased from 1988-1992, slightly peaked in 1993, and has been decreasing every year since (see Figure B-2 in Appendix B). The same trend for African Americans in all of DoD is the mirror image of that of Whites. The percentage of African Americans increased slightly from 1988-1992, and again from 1993-1998, decreased in 1999, and has been relatively stable from 2000-2001 (see Figure B-1 in Appendix B). With the exception of a decline in 1993, the percentages of African Americans in the Army have been relatively stable for these years (see Figure B-2 in Appendix B). The percentages of Hispanics in all of DoD, and those for the Army, have been increasing for these years (see Figures B-1 and B-2 in Appendix B).

From time to time the overrepresentation of African Americans in the military raises some ethical and political concerns. This issue surfaced in the social science literature during the late 1970s and in subsequent years. One concern was that the disproportionately large Black participation in the military would discourage White participation (Schexnider 1980; Butler 1991). I disagree with this assessment as the number of White enlisted members began to decline prior to the AVF. As I have stated elsewhere:

Because of this country's ambivalent attitudes toward African Americans, social groups such as organizations, neighborhoods, and

schools have been devalued erroneously when the proportion of African Americans increases. This was not the case, however, with the United States military, which had begun to lose White male enrollment even before the number of African Americans increased. The increased enrollment of African Americans was an effect and not a cause of the refusal of White middle class men to serve on active duty. During the 1970s and 1980s African Americans in general, and African American women in particular were joining the military in disproportionately large numbers because they were doing a job that other segments of the population did not want to do (Moore 1996).

On the other hand, some observers have asserted that the overrepresentation of African Americans in the American Armed Forces is a good thing. This, they argued, is because the U.S. military provides employment opportunities for African Americans that do not exist in the civilian sector (Dellums 1975; Schexnider 1976; Schexnider and Butler 1976). Although these views appear to advocate sound remedies to unemployment in the short term, they neglect the fundamental issue of choice. For a group with so few employment options, is military service really a choice?

Although African Americans are overrepresented in the enlisted ranks of the Armed Forces, they are underrepresented in the officer ranks, in terms of their overall population in the United States. Today, African Americans make up 8.1 percent of the officers on active duty in all of DoD, and 12.2 percent of the general population. While on the surface this appears to be an under representation, it actually is not when we consider that a college degree is a prerequisite for the officer corps. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, African Americans made up only 7.4 percent of the college graduates for 1999. As stated in a previous study:

... [S]ince officers must have a college degree, this level of officer representation compares favorably with the national proportion of African-American college graduates . . . Moreover, while the total percentage of African Americans in the Army has been slightly decreasing over the last 10 years, the percentage of African-American officers had increased slightly (Moore and Webb 2000:218).

Gender

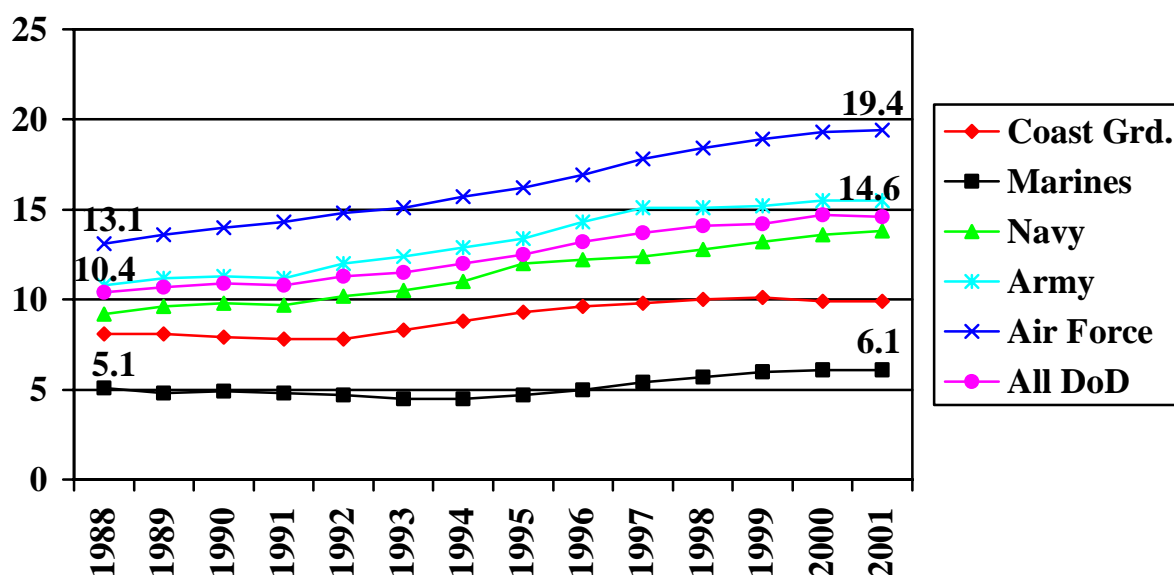
The AVF has also increased opportunities for women to serve in the active force. The termination of the draft coincided with the increased emphasis on equal employment for women in the American economy, leading to a relative surge in the number of women enlisting in the military. Before 1967, the representation of women in the military was restricted to 2 percent. Public Law 90-130 called for the removal of the 2 percent

restriction in 1967, and by 1974, women made up 3 percent of the active duty forces. Five years later, the number of women in the military had increased three-fold. By 1988, women comprised 10.4 percent of the active Armed Services. Today, 14.6 percent of the active forces in all of DoD are women (see Figure 2). Of all the Services, women are most represented in the Air Force, where they make up 19.4 percent of the enlisted force (see Figure 2).

These trends reflect greater opportunities for women in the Armed Forces due to a growing tolerance in the broader society toward women serving on active-duty, as well as the interest on the part of the Services to recruit more women (Moore and Webb 1998). Recent changes in military laws and policies (e.g., repeal of combat exclusion statutes) allow not only for greater participation of women, but also for women to fill a wider array of military occupations (Moore and Webb 1998). Under Public-Law 94-106, women were admitted to the three major service academies in 1976. Two years later, Congress passed legislation abolishing the Women's Army Corps as a separate unit. In more recent years, active duty Army women have been deployed in increasing numbers to combat zones. In 1983, 179 women were deployed to Grenada during Operation Urgent Fury. Seven years later, over 26,000 women soldiers were deployed to the Gulf region during operations Desert Shield and Storm. Shortly after the war, in 1991, Congress lifted the ban on women flying combat aircraft and serving on combat ships (Moore and Webb 1998).

Figure 2

**Percent of Women in the Enlisted Active Forces
1988-2001 (Source: DMDC)**



Suffice it to say that the opening of some non-traditional military occupations began as a result of a great deal of political struggle. For example, in 1988, Senators William Proxmire, William Cohen, and Dennis DeConcini requested that the General Accounting Office (GAO) investigate how the exclusion of women from combat jobs influenced the number of women entering the military, and limited the job opportunities for women already in the military (U.S. GAO 1988). The report indicated that in 1988, the combat exclusion statutes, and service policies implementing them, prohibited women from serving in 675,000 combat jobs. In addition, the active duty services also restricted women from 375,000 noncombat jobs to meet program needs created by the existence of the combat restriction. For the Army, these needs included considerations for providing rotation for men in overseas combat assignments and to insure that enough casualty replacements were available in the early part of a conflict. Other considerations included ample promotion opportunities for men in combat.

GAO found that the Army's accession goals limited opportunities for women even beyond the combat exclusion policy and after accounting for program needs (U.S. GAO 1988, 23). Further, GAO recommended that the Army reprogram its enlisted job system to reflect "male only" and "unrestricted" positions, creating a gender-neutral accession system for unrestricted positions. This would result in more job opportunities being available to women (U.S. GAO. 1988, 26). At the time GAO made these recommendations, many DoD officials ardently disagreed. However, despite opposition, in April 1993 Secretary of Defense Les Aspin directed the military Services to open more specialties and assignments to women. The Army responded by opening attack and scout helicopter units (Moore and Webb 1998). Brenda Moore and Schuyler Webb (1998) spoke about the Services response to Secretary of Defense Aspin's Directive and what it meant for the role of women in the military in the following way:

Responding to a Secretary of Defense Directive in 1993, the services have increased the number of women in combat support and combat service support units. Women are now authorized to serve in 83 percent of the Army's enlisted occupations, 97 percent of the warrant officer specialties and 95 percent of the officer occupations.

Opportunities for women in the military expanded even more when, in January 1994, the Secretary of Defense announced a new assignment rule and ground definition. As a result of this announcement, the Army opened an additional 3,200 occupational specialties to women (Moore 2001). Similarly, the country has witnessed recent changes in the role of women in the Navy. In 1993, President Clinton signed the Military Bill ending combat exclusion for women on combatant ships. The following year, Congress passed the National Defense Authorization Act, permitting women to serve in combat vessels and aircraft. Sixty women were assigned to the USS Eisenhower in October of 1994 when it deployed to the Persian Gulf (Moore and Webb 1998).

While these changes in legislation open additional military occupations to women, those occupations defined by the Department of Defense as involving direct combat are still closed to women. Women are still barred from such elite units as the

Army's Special Forces, the Navy's Sea-Air-Land (SEAL) units, and the Air Force Special Operations Command. Although women are assigned to combat units at the level of brigade headquarters or higher, they are not assigned to any unit involving direct physical fighting (Moore 2001:352).

One of the more current gender issues concerns the assignment of women to Naval submarines. The Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) has recommended that the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) begin the process of integrating women into the submarine community. During the Fall 1999 DACOWITS meeting, the Committee recommended the Secretary of the Navy order the redesign of the VIRGINIA class submarines to accommodate mixed gender crews. The committee also advised the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations to commence with assigning women officers to SSBNs (Submarine Service Ballistic Nuclear submarines). As stated in a briefing by the Navy's Deputy Nuclear Propulsion Program Manager, Captain Jim Ratte, "... the current policy of not assigning women to submarines remains unchanged and there are no plans for future submarine platforms to incorporate appropriate berthing and privacy arrangements to accommodate mixed gender crews" (see DACOWITS 2001). The Navy explained that due to their very unique space limitations, equipment density, design constraints and extended mission requirements, their policy of exclusion remains unchanged. Further, the Navy claimed that as an integral part of the combat effectiveness concerns, submarines couldn't provide the necessary privacy to properly accommodate mixed gender crews. To redesign the Virginia-class submarines would not be cost effective (see DACOWITS 2001).

Race and Gender

While the number of women, in general, has been increasing in the military, the number of African American women has been most dramatic of all racial/ethnic groups (Moore 1991). This has been most noticeable in the Army. As reported in an earlier study:

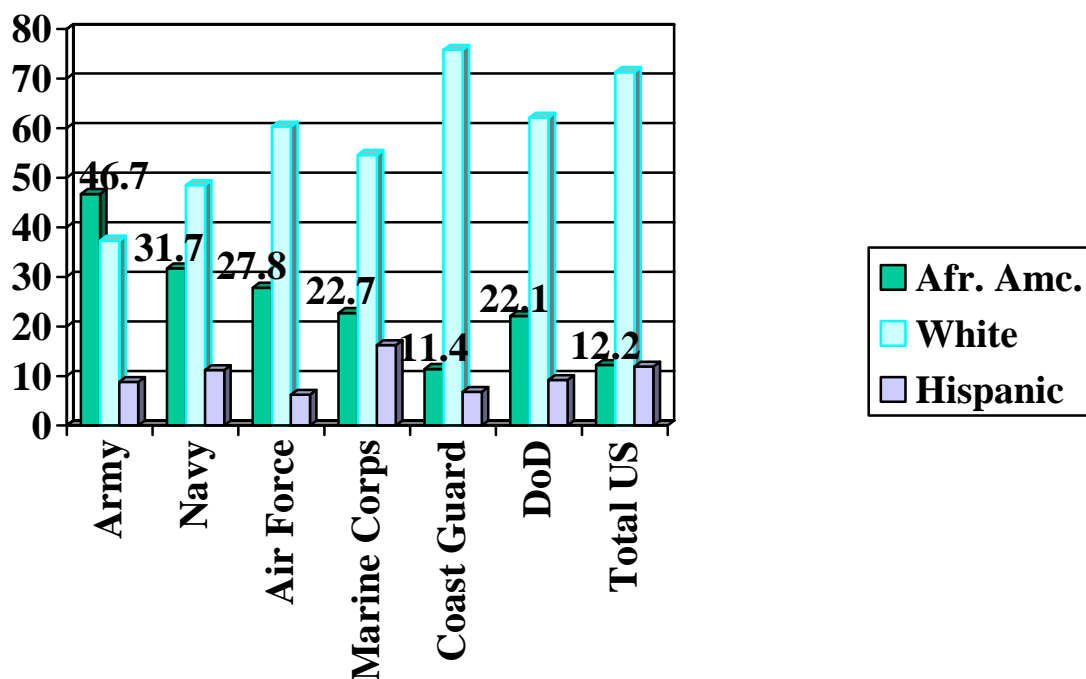
Of all civilian Black women who were either in the labor force or enrolled in school in 1988, 3.7 in every 1,000 enlisted in the active military force as compared with 1.3 in every 1,000 White women and 1.0 in every 1,000 Hispanic women (Moore 1991:364).

Unlike White women, who are concentrated in the Air Force, African-American women have always been concentrated in the Army. Today there are more African-American women in the enlisted ranks of the Army (46.7%) than women of any other racial/ethnic group (see Figure 3). Additionally, African-American enlisted women are overrepresented in each of the services except the Coast Guard where they comprise only 11.4 percent, slightly less than their percentage of the total population (12.2) (see Figure 3). Studies have shown that during the first decade of the AVF, African-American women served longer, and tended not to separate from service before their terms had expired, as compared with White women (Binkin, et. al. 1982:52-53). African-American

women also reenlisted more often than did women of different racial/ethnic groups; and they tended to be single-heads of households more than any other segment of the military population (Moore 1991: 370-372).

Figure 3

**Active Duty Enlisted Women by Race/Ethnicity
As of March 2001 (Source: DMDC)**



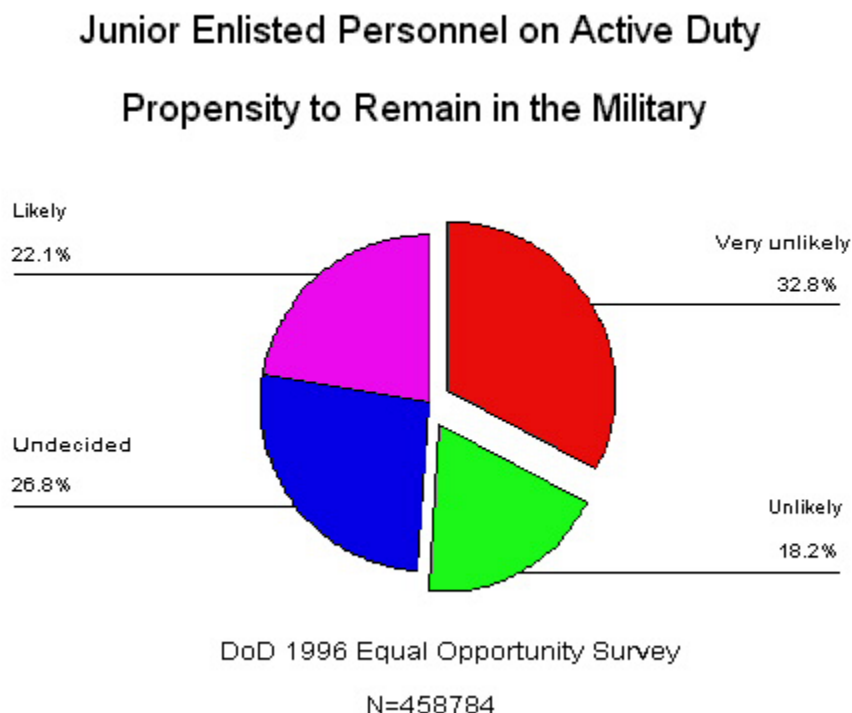
Attrition and Retention Rates

Earlier studies revealed that attrition was higher for women than it was for comparably educated males (Janowitz and Moskos 1979). More recent studies have found attrition rates to be exceptionally high for White women (Moore 2000). The Army has reported that from fiscal year (FY) 1993 to FY 1998, women separated early from service at a significantly higher rate than did males. For the same time period, the Marine Corps found that White women had the highest attrition rates (Moore 2000:2).

The high rate of attrition among today's service members is surprising considering the fact that DoD has competitive economic incentives. Since the advent of the AVF, the Department of Defense increasingly emphasizes economic concerns when addressing the problem of personnel procurement. The Services continue to increase

benefits for personnel, not only in pay, but also in quality of life programs. This is particularly true in the area of family life and child care services. A case in point is the 1989 Military Child Care Act that made investing in child care a high priority. Ten years later, the military paid \$339 million in subsidies for high quality child-care services. Fees for the service are based on parents' income.

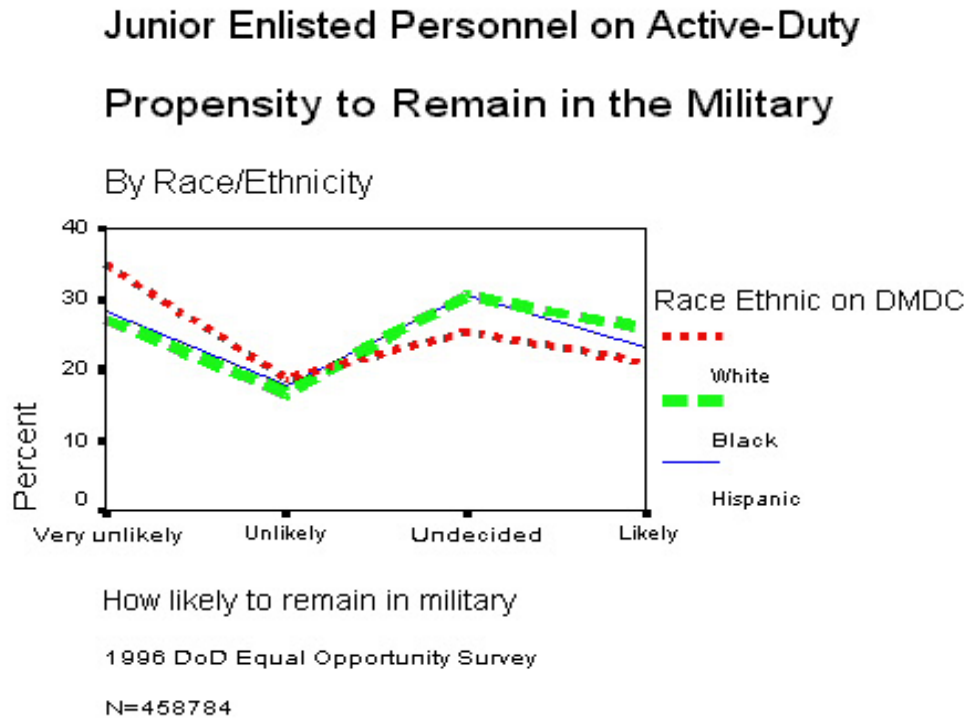
Figure 4



Even with these new material incentives, many active-duty military personnel leave military service before fulfilling their first-term of enlistment (GAO 1998), and the greatest proportion of them are White (Moore 2000). Figure 4 shows that over half of the junior enlisted personnel who responded to the 1996 Equal Opportunity Survey indicated that they are either unlikely or very unlikely to remain in service. Figure 5 shows that more White junior enlisted personnel in the sample indicated that they are unlikely or very unlikely to remain in the military than either Blacks or Hispanics. African-American respondents were more likely than Whites or Hispanics to remain on active duty.

Further, the findings of Moore's (2000) study show that the economic variable, "satisfaction with pay and benefits," is not the best predictor of propensity to remain in the military; neither was the variable for "marital status." While these variables were strong predictors of propensity to remain in the military, none of them were as strong as *pride in service* (see Table in Appendix A).

Figure 5



Motivating Enlisted Personnel to Remain in Today's Military: An Alternative Paradigm

The core of the problem is the economic paradigm used by the military to procure personnel. The mission of the military has been, and continues to be, redefined in terms of supply and demand. Consequently, the urgency and the sacredness of Service have been diminished. No longer will we observe the “warrior hero,” in the contemporary Armed Services that existed during World War II, as the sense of personal sacrifice has diminished. The contemporary Armed Services are more professional than in previous years, and are organized around the ethos of self-gain. Additionally, many of the coercive elements of military service have been discarded with the draft. Thus, while it was very difficult for active duty military personnel to leave the Service before their terms had ended during the draft era, it is practically penalty-free to do so today.

David Segal discussed the military's problem of procurement and retention in terms of two competing schools of thought: *utilitarianism* vs. *collectivism* (Segal 1985). On the one hand, social scientists following in the tradition of Herbert Spencer's *utilitarianism* declare that the ultimate goal of societal members is to maximize their

pleasure, happiness, and consumption. For example, this concept is advanced in the writings of economist, Milton Friedman (1982), John Kenneth Galbraith (1977), and sociologist, George C. Homans (1974).

On the other hand, there are those who avow that the behavior of individuals is heavily influenced by the human need for group affiliation; a concept that can be traced back to Auguste Comte's *collectivism*. Examples of this school of thought are found in the writings of Durkheim (1947), and Parsons (1947). Segal indicated that concomitant with the AVF, the Department of Defense employed a philosophy of *utilitarianism* for its policies on personnel procurement. This was done in an effort to meet personnel needs in "a modern democracy that is also compatible with its basic values." However, as Segal indicated, the concepts of *utilitarianism* and *collectivism* are not mutually exclusive; both influence the behavior of military personnel.

The Army realized the importance of group ties to the individual when its individual rotation policy proved to be dysfunctional during the Vietnam War. Subsequently, a number of initiatives were designed to deploy members of units as a group after they completed training. Such experiments included *Brigade 75* and *Brigade 76*, which provide for units to train for 90 days before being deployed to Germany where they would be stationed together, and find equipment similar to that which they had trained on. Other programs included the Army Cohesion Study Plan, which replaced and rotated companies in the mid-1980s; and the Cohesion, Operational Readiness, and Training Program, which recruited, trained, and assigned together members of company sized units (Segal 1985). However, according to Segal, these programs were unsuccessful due to ineffective management. Speaking of the *Brigade 76* program, Segal stated, "... its management was not up to the level of its conceptualization" (Segal 1985:165). This can be explained by the fact that the Army was, and still is, operating under an ethos of *laissez-faire*, emphasizing the individual rather than the collectivity.

Patricia Shields (1993) developed this argument further in an article published in *Armed Forces and Society*. Expressing the problem of defense policies in economic terms, Shields illustrated that since the advent of the AVF, a neoclassical economic paradigm has been the basis of military policies. She noted that critics, some of whom were the military sociologists mentioned above, raised questions about organizing an Army around the principles of selfishness, individuality, and rationality. Such a model, they argued, did not allow for other important factors, such as, the traditional values of duty and honor to country. While these critiques were heard and influenced such internal military initiatives as *Project Warrior* and *Operation Pride* to enhance unit cohesion, the neoclassical paradigm remained.

Drawing from Amitai Etzioni's (1988) seminal work on *socioeconomics*, Shields proposed that *socioeconomics* provides an alternative framework to the neoclassical model employed by the Department of Defense. Highlighting Etzioni's thesis, she makes the case that a socioeconomic model is far more complete than the neoclassical model in addressing the military needs for personnel who are both morally committed as well as materially satisfied:

Neoclassical economics, through the assumptions of self-interest, utility maximization, and rationality, reduce moral behavior to economic terms. On the other hand, socioeconomics is a “deontological I & We paradigm” which incorporates both moral obligation (deontology) and goes beyond the individual (We). It also assumes that people select means, not just goals, on the basis of their emotions and values. (Shields 1993:516)

Germane to socioeconomic theory is the assumption that people make decisions not only out of self interest, but also because they are part of something larger than self, a community. Where the theory of socioeconomics departs from that of neoclassical economics, is that the former assumes that people do not only seek to maximize their pleasure, as does the latter, but to attain a balance between their personal well being and the collective good. If personnel in today’s military are motivated by social influences, or what Etzioni referred to as *normative-affective* considerations, at least as much as they are by material concerns, then the Services may be more successful in retaining personnel by changing or modifying their paradigm. Etzioni refers to the goals that people pursue that are acquired from their communities, and inner moral and emotive developments as “normative-affective” factors (Etzioni 1988:14).

This holistic approach is consistent with Maslow’s theory. In his theory of motivation, Maslow describes five fundamental needs of human beings that when frustrated, drive human behavior. The most basic of these needs is physiological, including such requirements as food and warmth (Maslow 1987:15-17). Maslow asserted that if and when physiological needs are satisfied, there emerges another category of needs he labeled *safety* (including security, stability, protection, and freedom from fear (Maslow 1987:18)). When safety needs are gratified, there emerge the *love and affection and belongingness* needs, causing the individual to hunger for “relations with people in general” (Maslow 1987:20). When fulfilled, this need is followed by *esteem needs*: a need for self-respect and the respect of others. Satisfaction of the esteem needs leads to “self-confidence, worth strength, capability, and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world” (Maslow 1987:21). Finally, if and when all of these needs are satisfied, a new discontent arises unless the individual is doing what (s)he is suited for; unless (s)he is *self-actualized*. (Maslow 1987:22).

To address the need for fulfillment expressed by women and men in the military, the Services may look to some of the recommendations made in previous years by military sociologists. For example, as suggested by David Segal, rather than making entry-level pay competitive with the civilian labor market, “emphasize the symbolic and solidity rewards for first-term service persons and assume that first tour personnel will develop a sense of institutional commitment” (Segal 1985). While entry-level pay, in this scenario, would be less than that of civilian jobs, new recruits may be enticed by payment in kind, i.e., the cost of their personal needs would be absorbed by the government, and a substantial increase in pay following their reenlistment.

Another plausible alternative is to implement a recommendation made in previous years by Charles Moskos: linking federal aid for higher education to a program of voluntary national service. Such service would include military reserve duty or civilian work (Moskos 1982). Moskos further suggested that a two-track military personnel and compensation system differentiating between short-term and long-term volunteers be instituted. If properly implemented, this recommendation has the potential for countering the trend toward an occupational definition of military service, instilling a greater sense of moral responsibility in American youth, as well as coping with recruitment and retention goals.

Concluding Remarks

After tracing the development of today's military structure to the Gate's Commission, and employing Moskos' institutional/occupational model, it is clear to see the structural changes that have occurred in the U.S. military in recent years. These changes have had consequences for the quantity and quality of personnel, social representation, and retention rates. There is good news and bad news associated with these findings. The good news is that the All-Volunteer Force has provided occupational opportunities for racial minorities in general, and African Americans in particular, that have not been matched in the civilian society. While the early phases of the AVF saw racial conflict and discriminatory practices against women, over time the U.S. military reduced racial/ethnic tension, and improved attitudes and practices toward female service members.

Janowitz and Moskos (1969) reported that women were generally reluctant to accept assignments outside clerical and health settings. While this may be true to some degree today, more women are serving in non-traditional roles, or in traditional roles in combat units (see Moore 2001). Structural changes in military laws and policies (e.g., repeal of combat exclusion statutes) paved the way for women to serve in greater numbers as well as in a wider array of military occupations. Even in the face of the military downsizing of the 80s, the proportion of women on active duty has continued to increase from 9 percent in 1982 to 10.4 percent in 1988, to 11.7 percent in 1993, to 12.6 percent in 1995, to a whopping 14.6 percent today. This is partly attributable to an overall decrease in the size of the active forces.

Indeed, the Services should be applauded for their accomplishment in providing competitive economic rewards for all members. Today the Armed Services is the leading employer of African Americans, who as an aggregate, are 2.5 times as likely to be unemployed as Whites. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000), the total unemployment of Whites as a percentage of the civilian labor force was 3.7 in 1999. For the same year, the comparable rate for African Americans was 8.0. While Hispanics also experience high rates of unemployment vis-à-vis Whites in the civilian sector, as shown

in Figures 1, and 3 above, they do not gravitate toward the military in large numbers. A reason for this may be the heavy emphasis that Hispanics place on family commitment, which often conflicts with the prescribed duties of the military.

Still, while the military provides high economic rewards, it is deficient in providing the necessary symbols to sustain the motivation of members who have economic alternatives in the civilian sector; a problem that has only exacerbated since the end of the draft. Today's military service is no longer obligatory. Recruitment and retention policies are based on pay incentives, rather than normative factors, as those stemming from what Maslow characterized as a human need for *belongingness*. This raises the following questions:

1. How do the Services of the 21st Century motivate White men and women to remain on active duty when they have more lucrative economic opportunities in the civilian sector?
2. What are the consequences of the progress DoD has made over the last three decades in race relations and equal opportunity for DEOMI?
3. What are the diversity issues for the Army as the representation of minority members increase and majority members decrease?

Given the power of the *pride in service* variable in predicting the propensity of men and women to remain on active-duty, there is clearly a need for an alternative paradigm. A socioeconomic paradigm is a more complete model in addressing military personnel issues than is the current econometric model employed by the Department of Defense. The restructuring of the Armed Services for the 21st Century is inevitable. However, the U.S. Government must exercise caution to insure that the gains that have been made in the military's equal opportunity program, particularly those in race relations, are not reversed in the process. For example, paying personnel for skills rather than rank, as suggested in the DoD news briefing cited above, could have the deleterious effect of creating a dual labor market in which minorities are paid less than majority members. As DoD plans for reorganizing its Services, it must guard against replacing the current structure with one that will pit one racial group against another. Social structural change need not be a zero-sum game.

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APPENDIX A

Table

Results of Multiple Regression (Junior Enlisted Only/All Services)			
Dependent Variable: How likely respondents are to remain in the military			
DoD and Coast Guard			
VARIABLE	Coefficient	SE	Beta
Pride in Service	.507	.001	.385
Marital Status	.355	.003	.121
Education	-.024	.003	-.009
Pay & Benefits	.183	.001	.143
Unfair Punishment	-.090	.003	-.033
Neg. Racial Remarks	-.010	.003	-.003
Bad Racial Experience	-.137	.007	-.024
Blackmen (E1-E4)	.528	.006	.122
Blackwomen (E1-E4)	.454	.008	.073
Hispanicmen (E1-E4)	.178	.006	.038
Hispanicwomen (E1-E4)	.339	.014	.032
Whitewomen (E1-E4)	.026	.006	.005
(Constant)	*****	*****	*****

Significance at the .05 level

Note: Only the significant coefficients are reported

R Square = .23118

N=1,085,833

Constant = junior enlisted white males.

APPENDIX B

Figure B-1

**Race/Ethnic Distribution of DoD Active Force
In the Enlisted Ranks (1988-2001)**

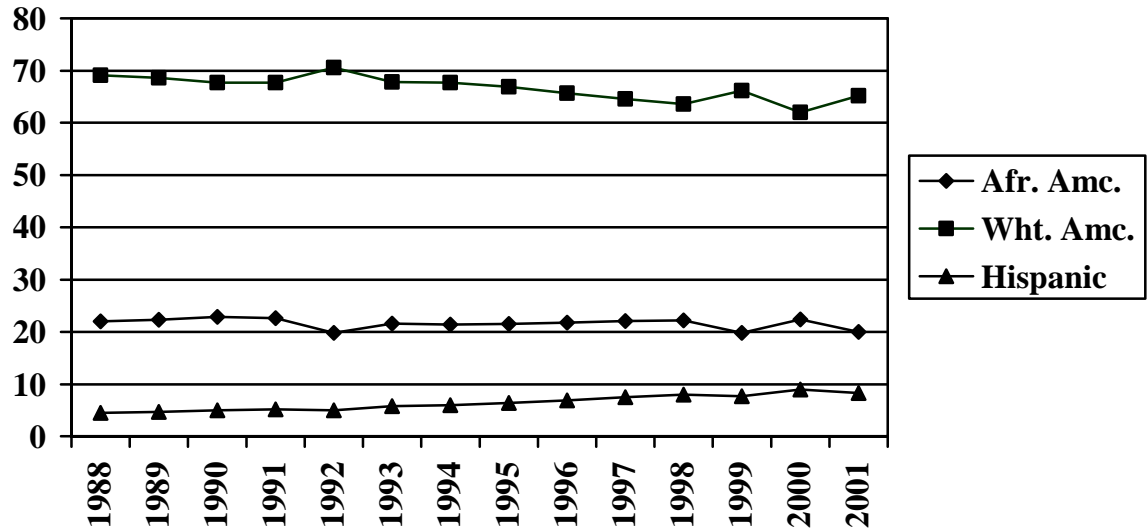
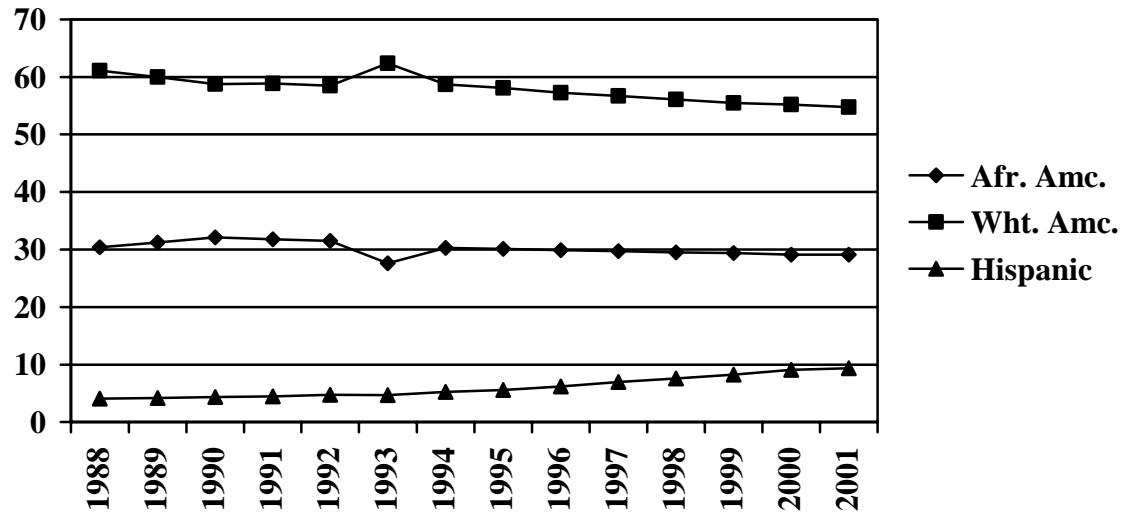


Figure B-2

**Race/Ethnic Distribution of Army Active Force
Enlisted Ranks (1988-2001)**



A Diversity Exit Interview/Survey for the Military¹

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Abstract

The exit interview and survey are means for identifying organizational problems, including diversity issues, through individuals separating from the organization, who are in a unique position to supply candid feedback. A review of the civilian literature revealed several problems with the exit interview and survey but also various ways of dealing with these problems. A review of the military literature showed that each military Service has undertaken a recent exit survey effort with varying results. Based upon the civilian and military literature, a diversity exit survey and interview were constructed, which addressed diversity problems in military units as well as organizational issues important to diversity groups. Recommendations for implementing the exit interview and survey end the report.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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A Diversity Exit Interview/Survey for the Military

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Equal opportunity (EO) is the stated policy of the U.S. Armed Services (Dansby, 1998). In essence, individuals serving in the U.S. military are assured equal opportunity in personnel actions, such as assignments and promotions, and also assured the absence of a discriminatory working environment, like racism or sexual harassment. In the larger sense, however, diversity in background (e.g., gender, race, and ethnicity) is a goal of the U.S. military. A diverse military force has a greater mix of skills as well as trainability for acquiring different skills, wider perspectives that can be applied to problem solving, and greater resources from which to draw, such as knowledge of local cultures as well as linguistic abilities (Cox, 1993). In short, diversity adds value to the military as it tries to meet new and challenging goals throughout the world in the 21st century, such as peacekeeping, rapid deployment, and pinpoint incursions.

Successful management of this diversity requires a change in old attitudes about diversity, open lines of communication, increased training, and enhanced resources (Cox, 1993). One important dimension underlying all of these processes is the need for measurement to ensure successful diversity management – measurement of retention and promotion rates for diversity groups, measurement of training effectiveness, and measurement of attitude change (Landis, Dansby, & Tallarigo, 1996). While measures are already in place for all of these requirements, the idea of continuous process improvement dictates that possible new measures be examined (Knouse, 1996). One alternative measure that can address many of these diversity areas is the exit interview and survey. Basically, the exit interview and survey are two variations of an instrument whereby a separating individual can present candid feedback about organizational issues. This individual is in the unique position of being able to honestly look back on organizational problems and describe them in the larger context of how the organization can improve (Giacalone, Knouse, & Pollard, 1999).

The present report first examines the civilian literature on the exit interview and survey. Then I looked at various recent exit surveys undertaken by the military Services. From these reviews, I constructed a diversity exit interview and survey covering both diversity problems in military units as well as organizational issues important to diversity groups. Finally, the report gives recommendations for implementing the exit instruments.

Review of the Civilian Literature on Exit Interviews and Surveys

While the civilian exit interview and survey literature is not voluminous, a number of studies examine various aspects of this instrument: purposes, procedures, problems and possible solutions, and new unique uses.

Purposes

Many organizations use exit interviews and surveys for three major reasons: provide diagnostic and strategic information for organizational improvement; enhance public relations with soon-to-be former employees, who may become future customers and advocates of the organization; and give unhappy separating employees a vehicle for venting their frustration (Giacalone, Elig, Ginexi, & Bright, 1995). In addition, exit interviews and surveys can detect unfair practices, such as sexual harassment and discrimination, uncover problems with pay and benefits, locate supervisory problems, identify ineffective training, and show performance evaluation problems (Giacalone, Knouse, & Montagliani, 1997).

There is a basic assumption that the exiting employee can be candid and further may be reflecting upon his or her time spent with the organization and thus be in a unique position to provide information on how the organization is operating (Giacalone, et al., 1999). Indeed, Knouse, Beard, Pollard, and Giacalone (1996) found that exiting employees with positive attitudes toward authority will readily discuss topics of interest to management, but will hesitate to discuss negative topics. This implies that the sample of exiting employees should include those favorable as well as unfavorable to management to insure that both positive and negative issues are covered.

Procedures

Studies of organizations using exit interviews and surveys reveal several common features. Most organizations use human resource specialists as administrators, because they tend to be good interviewers and exiting employees feel less threatened than being interviewed by their supervisor. Recruiters appear to be particularly good interviewers; they are familiar with the interface between the organization and the larger environment of competitors and the labor market. Most organizations administer the interview or survey during the last week of the employee's tenure, which may cause a potential problem. It may be perceived as hurried and just one more hurdle to leaving. The structure of questions varies: checklists, multiple choice, "yes"- "no", and open ended. The content of the questions tends to focus upon reasons for leaving, salary and benefits, training effectiveness, supervisory effectiveness, and ways to improve the organization (Drost, O'Brien, & Marsh, 1987; Garretson & Teel, 1982).

Giacalone, Knouse, and Ashworth (1991) suggest a number of features for successful exit interviews: do not wait until the employee's last day to conduct the interview; allow sufficient time during the interview to give the employee ample opportunity to discuss his or her feelings and perceptions; ensure the individual conducting the interview is personable, easy to talk to, and trusted by the employee; focus on policies and behaviors not personalities; allow open-ended questions so the employee can express himself or herself freely; be realistic, do not expect full

disclosure of everything wrong; and if the employee is taking a new job, allow comparisons of the employee's old job and the new one.

Problems

Several studies have shown that exit interview and survey data once collected may be seldom used in many organizations (Garetson & Teel, 1982), the interview or survey is poorly administered (Woods & Macauley, 1985), and management receives incorrect feedback (Hinrichs, 1975). The most serious problem is that information may be distorted. In an early study of a women's clothing manufacturer, 59% of respondents reported different answers to an exit interview and a follow-up interview. The most accurate information was given by "unavoidable terminations" (e.g., pregnancy and leaving town because of spouse's job), considered to be an extra-organizational separation not influenced by anything within the organization. Thus, there was no possibility of undue organizational influence or threats (Lefkowitz & Katz, 1969).

A second study showed similar results. There were significant changes in response to a phone follow-up 18 months after the exit interview at separation (Zarandona & Camuso, 1985). The authors conclude that because the respondents as ex-employees had no reason not to be candid in the follow-up, the distortion must have occurred in the original exit interview while the respondents were still employees within the organization.

There are a number of possible reasons for this information distortion. The exiting employee may be providing socially desirable responses (e.g., leaving for higher pay or better career opportunities) rather than the real reasons, which may not sound as glamorous or self-enhancing (Giacalone, et al., 1999). There may be no incentive to be honest – separating pay and retirement awards have most likely already been bestowed. Honest information may jeopardize the separating employee's chances in the future, such as returning to the firm.

The organization may not appear interested. Exit interviews and surveys are usually conducted in a hurried fashion as one of the last procedures before separation (Zarandona & Camuso, 1985). In addition, distortion may occur because separating employees do not want to hassle with management, resent the organization and see the exit interview or survey as a retaliation, want to protect friends and colleagues who are staying, and want to protect their own long term interests in asking for employment recommendations in the future (Giacalone, et al., 1997; Knouse, et al., 1996).

Giacalone, et al. (1991) speculate that such information distortion may be due in part to which role the separating employee is playing. In the good subject role, the employee tries to anticipate what the interviewer wants through such devices as leading questions and nonverbal cues and give the interviewer that information, regardless of whether it is accurate or not. The faithful subject perceives himself or herself as still loyal to the organization and will only convey positive information. The negative role, on the other hand, is played by a separating employee who feels wronged or otherwise aggrieved by the organization and thus provides largely negative information.

Impression management, where employees try to manipulate the image others have of them, may also be a factor in information distortion. In the case of an exit interview, separating employees may want to leave their employers with a particular image of themselves or others (friends or enemies) in the organization. They may want a positive image of themselves to prevail, because they may want a recommendation later, or they may want to protect friends or get even with enemies (Giacalone, et al., 1995).

Several researchers suggest ways to decrease this information distortion. One recommendation is to increase the importance of the procedure – allow sufficient time to complete the interview or survey and conduct the procedure in a comfortable environment. Another suggestion is to have a neutral non-threatening third party, such as an outside consultant, administer the interview or survey (Jurkiewicz, Knouse, & Giacalone, 2001). Indeed, research shows that exit information provided to management interviewers differs from that given to third party interviewers (Hinrichs, 1975). Still another suggestion is to financially compensate exiting employees for participating. Theoretically, this extra money earned at separation should motivate individuals to reciprocate by disclosing information more fully. In addition, this money creates the perception that the exit interview or survey is important enough for the organization to pay for it (Giacalone et al., 1991).

How exiting employees were treated by the organization during their careers can be a factor. Those feeling negative equity (perception of negative treatment while an employee) may be more responsive to third party interviewers, while those feeling positive equity may be effectively interviewed by insiders, such as human resource specialists (Giacalone, et al., 1997).

The degree to which respondents feel that their responses will remain anonymous or at least be held confidential by the organization may influence how truthfully they respond. Some empirical evidence shows that individuals may feel more comfortable with computerized exit surveys than those administered by a live person (Rosenfeld, Giacalone, Knouse, Doherty, Vicino, Kanter, & Greaves, 1991). The military was one of the first organizations to try computerized exit surveys with their ExitQ program (Martindale, 1988).

Embry, Mondy, and Noe (1979) propose a patterned exit interview for dealing with these problems, which lasts about 60 minutes. The first 5-10 minutes involve establishing rapport by discussing issues of interest to the separating employee but outside the realm of the exit interview. The interviewer then states the purpose of the interview – exploring strong and weak areas of the organization. For the next 15-20 minutes the interview explores the exiting employee's attitudes beginning with general issues and then funneling toward specific job issues. Then for 10-15 minutes he or she discusses reasons for leaving. Finally for 10-15 minutes he or she talks about areas of the organization that could be changed.

Giacalone and Knouse (1989), on the other hand, suggest a three stage process. Stage 1 is a pre-interview meeting during the last month before separation where the employee learns there will be an exit interview. Allow the employee to choose the interviewer: immediate supervisor, human resource specialist, or outside consultant. Stage 2 is the actual interview which starts with specific employee concerns, progresses to company-wide issues, and ends with an open discussion of any issues. Stage 3 is a follow-up interview several months after the

separation interview. In the follow-up, the former employee is asked whether any of their responses from the separation interview have changed, and, if so, why. Moreover, the former employee is paid to participate.

Improving Customer Satisfaction with Exit Interviews and Surveys

Like any human resource management device, such as an employment interview or a performance evaluation form, there must be user satisfaction; i.e., it must be user friendly and fulfill user needs (Knouse, 1996). Jurkiewicz, et al. (2001) suggest that user satisfaction can be enhanced by direct access through readily available databases, such as a web site. The exit interview or exit survey administrators should be responsive to user needs and be able to communicate with the users on an ongoing basis. To these ends, human resource specialists should be trained as exit interview and survey experts in administering the interview or survey, analyzing the results, and giving feedback to management.

Unique Uses for Exit Interviews and Surveys

Security Risks. Giacalone and Knouse (1993) propose that the exit interview and survey can be used to identify security risks in organizations. Questions can cover crime frequency, items taken from the organization, and sites of these occurrences. The survey process itself can show to employees who are staying with the organization that management has a commitment to security.

Ethics. Giacalone, et al. (1999) suggest that the exit interview and survey can be a means of evaluating ethical and unethical behavior in organizations. They found five distinct dimensions to ethical behavior reported by exiting employees: illegal corporate activities; unfair management practices, such as dishonest procedures and dealing unfairly with complaints; illegal human resource activities, such as sex and race discrimination in hiring, sexual harassment; small scale dishonesty, such as stealing office supplies and cheating on sick days; and mistreatment of internal and external customers.

Summary

Like the employment interview, the exit interview and survey tends to be used by many organizations that nevertheless have mixed feelings toward it. In short, organizations see exit interviews and surveys as useful but flawed in their present state. They may be hastily completed at the last minute, perceived as unimportant, administered poorly, underutilized, and most importantly may convey distorted information to management. The studies cited here offer a number of ways to improve these interviews and surveys, including expanding the process from a quick one shot event to several meetings in order to show its importance, using outside neutral interviewers, employing a computerized survey, asking varied types of questions, conducting follow-ups, and paying exiting employees to participate in the process.

Military and Federal Government Surveys

There has been much recent activity among the military Services in attempting to evaluate retention and separation intentions among its members. One compelling reason has been the continuing strong civilian economy offering lucrative alternatives to many service members to separate. Coupled with expanded service missions around the world necessitating more travel and relocation, financial pressures, and family demands, these influences have strained the retention numbers of all Services. Indeed, Congress passed legislation in 1999 requiring that the Secretary of Defense survey every member of the Services leaving on their reasons for separation (Public Law No. 106-65). Summaries of several Service equal opportunity, exit, and separation surveys follow.

MEOCS

The most extensive measurement of equal opportunity (EO) climate in the military is the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS). Currently, the MEOCS database at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) contains over 1,000,000 surveys of 4,000 military units.

The MEOCS is actually a combination of scales measuring a number of EO and related organizational factors. The main scale measures EO as the probability of EO behaviors occurring within the unit in five categories: sexual discrimination and harassment, differential command behaviors showing preference for certain groups, positive command behaviors toward all groups, racist/sexist behaviors, and reverse discrimination against Whites. In addition, the MEOCS contains scales with attitudes toward discrimination against minorities, agreement with the concept of reverse discrimination, agreement with the concept of racial separation, and belief in integration. Finally, three scales tap overall organizational climate: commitment, work group effectiveness, and job satisfaction (Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993; Landis et al., 1996).

In a typical scenario, the unit commander has the unit personnel complete the MEOCS, which is then sent to DEOMI for analysis. DEOMI returns a data summary to the commander along with suggestions for EO climate improvement (Landis et al., 1993). One of the problems with the MEOCS is that it is a lengthy, time consuming survey to complete. Therefore, DEOMI is currently in the process of converting the MEOCS survey into a set of separate modules from which the unit commander can choose subsets more focused upon unit needs.

1999 Survey of Active Duty Personnel

The Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) evaluated the 1999 Survey of Active Duty Personnel (Defense Manpower Data Center, 2001). The survey tapped 33,189 personnel in all the military Services. The various sections of the survey covered satisfaction with military life, retention (intent to stay or leave, separating actions, and significant others' support for continuing in the military), finance (household income, personal debt and savings, financial support, and financial problems), personnel tempo (time commitments, time away from home,

workload), and quality of life (availability of education, childcare, health care for members and their families).

Results showed that there were no differences among diversity groups (race, ethnicity, and gender) in overall satisfaction with the military. More specifically, females were more satisfied with medical and dental care, co-location with military spouse, and subsistence allowances, while males were more satisfied with quality of military leadership, unit morale, and deployments. African Americans were more satisfied with schools for their children, spouse career opportunities, and youth activities on base, while Whites were more satisfied with the type of assignments received.

In terms of retention, more males than females had taken the steps involved in exploring leaving the military: putting together a resume, applying for a job, and interviewing for jobs. In terms of financial matters, females had a higher household income, but lower level of savings. Males had less financial problems. African Americans had a higher household income and higher debt than all other racial/ethnic groups except Whites. Whites had the highest savings level.

For time factors, males and Whites had more duty assignments away from their permanent duty station, while only Whites had longer temporary duty assignments. Males reported mission preparation, mission critical requirements, and getting ready for deployment as reasons for working overtime, while African Americans reported these factors less.

In terms of education, females used continuing education, tuition assistance programs, and basic skills education more. Females also used on-base childcare centers more.

2000 Military Exit Survey

The DMDC also produced the 2000 Military Exit Survey for all service personnel separating between April and September 2000 (Defense Manpower Data Center, 2000). The survey covered assignment information (work time, deployments, temporary duty), career information (initial career intentions and satisfaction with various areas of military life), leadership and communication (leader skills, motivation, and fairness), military life (comparing opportunities in the military with those in the civilian world), and separation and retirement (employment situation and reasons for leaving the service). To date, analyses of the data were not available.

2000 Air Force Careers and New Directions Surveys

The Air Force Careers Survey evaluates reasons people stay in the Air Force, while the New Directions Survey (the Air Force exit survey) evaluates reasons people are leaving the Air Force (Hamilton & Datko, 2000). The sections of the two surveys are almost identical: overall assessment of Air Force experience, operations tempo (time away), finances, intentions toward re-enlisting or separating, the most influential issue in re-enlisting or staying (personal reason, Air Force programs and policies, issues at the base, issues at the unit, and family issues), career influences (evaluation system, availability of services, pay, choice of job assignment, equal

employment opportunities, job security, leadership, opportunities for training, overall job satisfaction, patriotism, recognition, unit personnel, and unit resources), and future plans. Underlying the survey items was the Air Force “push-pull” approach to retention – the “push” of dissatisfaction with an Air Force policy or program and the “pull” of private sector opportunities.

For the year 2000 surveys, 1,047 personnel responded to the New Direction Survey and 8,543 answered the Careers Survey (Hamilton & Datko, 2000). Overall, the two surveys indicated that the most important reason for staying with the Air Force was patriotism followed by retirement benefits. Among the primary reasons for leaving were assignment issues and pay and allowances coupled with the perception of better opportunities in the civilian sector.

Navy Argus

From January 1990 to May 2001, the Navy used the Navy Separation/Retention Survey (NSRS)(Hoover, 2001). There were two parts; the first addressed 45 aspects of Navy life, while the second asked the respondent to identify the one factor from the first part that was most influential in the respondent’s decision to leave the Navy. A major problem with NSRS was the low response rate of 8.5% leading researchers to believe the respondents might not be representative of the population of those separating from the Navy.

In February 2001 the Argus Retention Survey began replacing the NSRS (Hoover, 2001). Argus is administered to personnel at a career transition point – both those leaving the service and those extending (re-enlisting or receiving a promotion). The web-based survey covers advancement opportunities, career assignments, command climate, time away from home, recognition, maintenance and logistic support, current job satisfaction, housing, impact on family, pay and retirement, health benefits, other benefits (e.g., commissary and exchange), Navy culture, leadership, and civilian job opportunities. The scale measures both gradations of “influence to leave” and “influence to stay”. Therefore, with the dual scale and samples of those staying and leaving, Argus can directly compare factors in retention and separation. There were no analyses of the results to date.

Marine Corps Retention Survey

Between January and March 2001, all active duty Marines received the Marine Corps Retention Survey, consisting of sections of leadership, career, current military job and working conditions, personal and family life, military pay and benefits, military culture, and employment opportunities (Hoover, 2001). Similar to the Navy Argus, the rating scale reflected either “influence to stay” or “influence to leave” the service.

Army ACTS

From 1990 to 1995, the Army administered the Army Career Transitions Survey (ACTS) to separating soldiers. Analyses revealed eight factors associated with separation: job satisfaction, leadership, organizational rewards, living arrangements, office policies, medical benefits, relocation, and support services (Giacalone, et al., 1995). Moreover, analyses showed that Army personnel separating involuntarily were less satisfied with these factors than those

separating voluntarily. Giacalone, et al. (1995) suggest that the data from these two groups (voluntary and involuntary separatees) be analyzed separately.

Coast Guard Career Intentions Survey

The Coast Guard posted a web-based survey in 2001 for all military or civilian members leaving the organization. To date, the results of about 1,200 respondents showed that missions and the contribution of their jobs to mission success were important to both stayers and leavers. Those leaving expressed less satisfaction with their Coast Guard experience and felt less control over their jobs. Factors common to both leavers and stayers were adequacy of pay, future assignments, promotion, health care, and opportunities for training and education. Factors important to stayers were job security, health care, missions, and retirement benefits. Factors common to leavers were supervisors, career opportunities, morale, workload, and organizational climate (Wehrenberg, 2001).

Military Gender Retention Surveys

The various military Services are particularly interested in specific issues related to the retention of women. A combined phone interview and survey of Air Force women two years after deployment in Operation Desert Storm found that retention of women in the Air Force was less related to deployment issues than to family support issues, such as work and family conflict, childbearing, and childcare responsibilities, particularly during a deployment where the woman had to leave their children. Military women were concerned about the welfare of their children, social support for their needs as mothers (e.g., availability of a surrogate caregiver), and the impact of their military life on their husbands, if they were married. In addition, lack of recognition and promotion, work environment, and financial hardship were factors in women deciding to separate from the Air Force (Pierce, 1998).

A Navy study of retention of women found similar results. The degree of commitment to a Navy career, satisfaction with benefits (e.g., health and education), concerns about balancing a Navy career with family responsibilities, and commitment to motherhood were significant factors in the decision to re-enlist or not (Kelley, Hock, Bonney, Jarvis, Smith, & Gaffney, 2001).

FAA EAS 2000 Survey

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) surveyed their employees in late 2000 on job satisfaction, compensation satisfaction, communications satisfaction, a model work environment (e.g., equal career opportunities and lack of sexual harassment), and organizational commitment. Overall, they found that management concern for employees, recognition and rewards, communications, and supervisor fairness were influences or “drivers” to multiple outcomes, such as satisfaction, success, and organizational commitment. In addition, eliminating a hostile work environment was a driver for success in achieving a model work environment. Decision to leave the FAA was influenced by retirement plans, quality of management, career and promotion opportunity, satisfaction with the organization, and pay (Federal Aviation Administration, 2001).

Overall Results with Military Surveys

These various military surveys show that a diversity exit survey should have two main thrusts. The first concerns factors dealing with diversity issues in work as reflected in the MEOCS, Military Exit Survey, and the FAA survey: discriminatory behaviors, racism, sexism, preferential behaviors, fair evaluations, equitable assignments, equal career opportunity, and sexual harassment. The second as reflected in the DMDC Survey of Active Duty Personnel, the Navy Argus, the Air Force New Directions Survey, the Coast Guard Career Intentions Survey, and the gender surveys concerns factors that various groups, such as minorities and females, consider crucial in deciding to either stay or leave the service: job assignments (workload, deployments, and contribution to mission success), promotion and career enhancing opportunities, a positive work environment (equal opportunity and lack of sexual harassment), financial issues (pay, benefits, living costs, and retirement benefits), training and education opportunities, services (child care, health care, and surrogate caregiver), spouse issues (co-location of military spouse, employment opportunities for civilian spouse), and family issues (schools, base activities for children)(see Appendix A for item pools from these various surveys).

Theoretical Bases for Exit Surveys

Although most exit survey research is empirically based, there are some theoretical bases for conceptualizing the retention and separation processes.

Job Satisfaction

Reviews of the civilian employee literature focus upon job satisfaction as a central construct for understanding withdrawal behaviors (absenteeism and leaving the organization). Numerous empirical studies have shown that job dissatisfaction is strongly linked to propensity to leave the organization, if the opportunity is perceived to be present (Cranny, Smith, & Stone, 1992; Iaffaldano & Muchinsky, 1985; Tett & Meyer, 1993).

Most conceptualizations depict job satisfaction as a multifaceted construct. For example, the Job Description Index (JDI), one of the most popular measures of job satisfaction, taps five aspects of job satisfaction: the work itself, promotion, supervisor, coworkers, and pay (Cranny et al., 1993). All of the military surveys described above have components measuring these basic aspects of job satisfaction. For example, the Air Force considers job dissatisfaction the “push” toward separation, and the Coast Guard considers job satisfaction the central component of retention.

Lost Opportunity Cost

Another construct is lost opportunity cost. When an individual commits to one decision, such as taking a job with a certain organization, he or she loses the opportunity to work with another organization that might result in higher pay, more prestige, or better career enhancement (e.g., Schumacher, 1997). In other words, taking a job with one organization presents a cost of lost opportunities with other organizations. Similarly, in the military, personnel may believe that by staying further with the military they are incurring a cost of not separating and taking a job in

the civilian sector, which might pay more, have better training, or more lucrative career opportunities. The 2000 Military Exit Survey reflects this approach in its section comparing military with civilian job opportunities. In addition, the Air Force considers this the “pull” of outside civilian opportunity that follows the “push” of dissatisfaction with the Air Force that may motivate separation from the Service.

Impact of these Constructs on a Military Diversity Survey

Women and minorities may feel strongly that dissatisfaction with various aspects of their military jobs are sufficient grounds for leaving the military. Thus a military diversity survey should reflect satisfaction with basic aspects of the job: the work itself, supervision, promotion opportunities, coworkers, and pay and benefits.

Further, women and minorities may believe that staying with the military may result in lost opportunities in the civilian world. Thus a military diversity survey should also measure how individuals feel about opportunities in the military versus the civilian world in pay and benefits, education and training, quality of life, workload, and sense of accomplishment.

The Diversity Exit Survey

Figure 1 shows the Diversity Exit Survey. The rationale for its five basic parts follows.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is theoretically the central concept upon which retention and separation depend. Items concerning job satisfaction are borrowed from the Survey of Active Duty Personnel, Air Force Careers Survey, ACTS, Coast Guard Career Intentions Survey, and gender surveys: satisfaction with pay, allowances, health care, retirement benefits; promotion, training and professional development; unit morale, coworkers; personal workload, recognition for accomplishments; leadership; and family issues (spouse career, youth activities, schooling, family support programs, childcare).

Lost Opportunities Costs and Reasons for Leaving

The second and third sections of the survey focus upon the perception of lost opportunities with staying in the military and the closely related topic of reasons for leaving. Items come from the Air Force New Directions Survey, Navy Argus, Coast Guard Career Intentions Survey, and FAA Survey: pay, benefits, and allowances; training, development, and education opportunities; leadership; pride in work; age; satisfaction; promotion; desirability of assignments; starting a new career; family; and change of station and deployments.

A fourth section is adapted from the Air Force New Directions Survey. The respondent ranks categories of issues in their relative importance for leaving the service: personal issues, military, base/post, unit, and family.

Fair Working Environment

One thrust of a diversity exit survey should be measuring unfair or discriminatory environments that might lead women or minorities to want to leave the Service. A vehicle for capturing this is the fair working environment concept used by the FAA. The source for problematic situations is the MEOCS, Military Exit Survey, and FAA Survey. In the Diversity Exit Survey, this section falls fifth, toward the end of the survey because of the sensitivity of the questions. Beginning the survey with this section might overly sensitize the respondents.

Questions in this section focus upon fair performance evaluation, supervision, promotion, assignments, pay and benefits, and freedom from discrimination and harassment. In addition, respondents are asked if they ever, in their military experience, encountered unfair performance evaluation, supervisor treatment, promotion, job assignment, pay and benefits, or discrimination or sexual harassment because of race, ethnicity, or gender. This latter section can serve as a factor in data analysis. Respondents who have encountered one or more of these unfair actions can be compared to those who have not in terms of the previous sections on satisfaction and reasons for leaving.

Demographic Data

The final part of the survey covers demographic data necessary for data analysis: age, gender, race/ethnicity, job specialization, grade, time in grade, and time in service.

Figure 1
The Diversity Exit Survey

The purpose of this survey is to understand the perceptions of those who are leaving the service. We believe that those leaving are in a unique position to comment on a number of aspects of the Services, the military environment, and the working environment. Your responses will be kept confidential. Please answer how you see the situation. There are no right or wrong answers.

I. Job Satisfaction

The following items have to do with your satisfaction with the military, your work environment, and your military job. Please answer using the scale at the right.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Scale</u>					
	1=Highly Dissatisfied					
	2=Dissatisfied					
	3=Neither Dissatisfied Nor Satisfied					
	4=Satisfied					
	5=Highly Satisfied					
	6=Not Applicable					
Basic pay	1	2	3	4	5	6
Allowances	1	2	3	4	5	6
Health care	1	2	3	4	5	6
Retirement benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6
Opportunities for promotion	1	2	3	4	5	6
Training and professional development	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unit morale	1	2	3	4	5	6
Coworkers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Personal workload	1	2	3	4	5	6
Recognition for your accomplishments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quality of leadership	1	2	3	4	5	6
Spouse career development	1	2	3	4	5	6
Youth activities on base	1	2	3	4	5	6
Schooling for children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Military family support programs	1	2	3	4	5	6
Childcare opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
Housing for single military persons	1	2	3	4	5	6

Comments:

II. Opportunities in the Military versus Civilian World

The following items compare opportunities in the military versus the civilian world. Please rate each item according to the scale.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Scale</u>					
	1=Much better opportunity in the military					
	2=Better opportunity in the military					
	3=Same opportunities in military and civilian world					
	4=Better opportunity in the civilian world					
	5=Much better opportunity in the civilian world					
	6=Not applicable					
Pay	1	2	3	4	5	6
Benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6
Training	1	2	3	4	5	6
Career development	1	2	3	4	5	6
Leadership	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sense of accomplishment in work	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pride in work	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unit cohesiveness	1	2	3	4	5	6
Support for family	1	2	3	4	5	6

Comments:

III. Reasons for Leaving the Service

The following items have to do with reasons that you might leave the service. Please rate each item according to the scale.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Scale</u>					
	1=Very Strong Influence to Stay					
	2=Strong Influence to Stay					
	3=Neither Influence to Stay nor Leave					
	4=Strong Influence to Leave					
	5=Very Strong Influence to Leave					
	6=Not applicable					
Age	1	2	3	4	5	6
Overall job satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pay and allowances	1	2	3	4	5	6
Promotion opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not getting desirable assignments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lack of training opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
Continuation of education	1	2	3	4	5	6

Desire to start new career	1	2	3	4	5	6
Family wanting you to separate	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of permanent change of station moves	1	2	3	4	5	6
Too many deployments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Uncertainty of future assignments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Duty on holidays	1	2	3	4	5	6
Problems with leadership	1	2	3	4	5	6

Comments:

IV. Relative Importance of Issues in Leaving

The following looks at the relative importance of issues in leaving. Please rank the five categories of issues from 1 – Most important to 5 – Least important to your possible decision to leave.

<u>Issue Category</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Personal issues (job opportunities, education, lifestyle change)	_____
Military issues (pay, benefits, health care, assignments)	_____
Issues about the base/post (location, recreation, schools, off-duty employment, health care facilities, housing)	_____
Issues within the unit (coworkers, supervisors, work schedule, resources)	_____
Family issues (satisfaction with military, family health care, time with family)	_____

V. Fair Work Environment

The following items have to do with the fairness of the military working environment you have encountered. Answer according to your agreement with the item.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Scale</u>					
	1=Strongly Disagree					
	2=Disagree					
	3=Neither Disagree nor Agree					
	4=Agree					
	5=Strongly Agree					
	6=Not Applicable					
Fair performance evaluations	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fairness of supervision	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fair promotion opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fair assignments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fair pay and benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6

Freedom from discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	6
Freedom from harassment	1	2	3	4	5	6

The following has to do with your experiences in the military in particular.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Yes-No</u>
Have you ever received an unfair performance evaluation in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have any of your supervisors ever treated you unfairly because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have you ever been unfairly assigned to a new job because of race, ethnicity or gender?	_____
Have you ever been denied an assignment because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have you ever received unfair pay or benefits in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have you ever been discriminated against in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____
Have you ever been sexually harassed in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?	_____

Comments:

VI. Your Background

The following are necessary questions about your background required for analyses of the survey data.

Your age
 Your race/ethnicity
 Your gender
 Your job specialization
 Your grade
 Your time in grade
 Your time in service

Pretest

The Diversity Exit Survey was pretested on several DEOMI military personnel who made recommendations about item and scale language as well as additions.

Diversity Exit Interview

Most military exit instruments use the format of an exit survey. The civilian world also mostly uses an exit survey. On occasion, however, civilian organizations use an exit interview to get at more individual information as well as more in-depth information. Figure 2 shows a Diversity Exit Interview adapted from the Diversity Exit Survey.

Figure 2
Diversity Exit Interview

The purpose of this interview is to understand the perceptions of those who are leaving the service. We believe that those leaving are in a unique position to comment on a number of aspects of the Services, the military environment, and the working environment. Your responses will be kept confidential. Please answer how you see the situation. There are no right or wrong answers.

I. Job Satisfaction

Are there one or more areas in the following list that strongly influenced your satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the military? Please explain.

Basic pay
Allowances
Health care
Retirement benefits
Opportunities for promotion
Training and professional development
Unit morale
Coworkers
Personal workload
Recognition for your accomplishments
Quality of leadership
Spouse career development
Youth activities on base
Schooling for children
Military family support programs
Childcare opportunities
Housing for single military

II. Opportunities in the Military Versus Civilian World

Do you feel that there are better opportunities in the military or civilian world for the following? Please explain.

Pay
Benefits
Training
Career development
Leadership
Sense of accomplishment in work
Pride in work
Support for family

III. Reasons for Leaving the Service

Are there one or more items in the following list that strongly influenced your decision to leave (or stay) in the service? Please explain.

Age
Overall job satisfaction
Pay and allowances
Promotion opportunities
Not getting desirable assignments
Lack of training opportunities
Continuation of education
Desire to start new career
Family wanting separation
Number of permanent change of station moves
Too many deployments
Problems with leadership

IV. Relative Importance of Issues in Leaving

Which of the following are most important in your decision to leave? Please explain.

Personal issues (job opportunities, education, lifestyle change)
Military issues (pay, benefits, health care, assignments)
Issues about the base/post (location, recreation, schools, off-duty employment, health care facilities, housing)
Issues within the unit (coworkers, supervisors, work schedule, resources)
Family issues (satisfaction with military, family health care, time with family)

V. Fair Work Environment

Have you ever encountered any of the following? Please explain the situation.

Have you ever received an unfair performance evaluation in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have any of your supervisors ever treated you unfairly because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have you ever been unfairly assigned to a new job because of race, ethnicity or gender?
Have you ever been denied an assignment because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have you ever received unfair pay or benefits in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have you ever been discriminated against in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?
Have you ever been sexually harassed in the military because of race, ethnicity, or gender?

VI. Background Information

The following are necessary questions about your background required for interpretation of the interview results.

Your age

Your race/ethnicity

Your gender

Your job specialization

Your grade

Your time in grade

Your time in service

Recommendations

1. *Continue to test the protocols for the Diversity Exit Survey and Diversity Exit Interview.*

The items may need additional polishing. Testing with samples from different military Services as well as differing grades and service time may highlight items that maximize difference among groups (which items should be retained) compared to items that do not show real differences among groups (which items should be deleted). Comparisons among diversity groups who have and have not experienced unfair actions, discrimination, or harassment incidents may also be fruitful.

2. *Consider the possibility of administering the survey and interview through neutral third parties.*

Research shows that members separating from the organization tend to be more candid with neutral third party administrators or interviewers than organizational specialists from whom they may fear retaliation for negative information or may want to impress with overly positive information (Giacalone, et al., 1991, 1995; Jurkiewicz, et al., 2001; Knouse, et al., 1996). Outside consultants could be used as independent survey administrators.

3. *Develop a computerized Diversity Exit Survey.*

Some of the existing exit surveys, such as the Navy Argus, can be completed totally on the Internet. The computerized survey has the advantage of convenience; the respondent can complete the survey on his or her own time and pace. In addition, research shows that individuals may be more candid in computerized than live surveys (Giacalone, et al., 1995; Rosenfeld et al., 1991).

4. *Develop an e-mail follow up survey.*

Research shows that follow up surveys sometimes yield different response patterns than surveys given the last week of work. Respondents may feel less threatened or less rushed or may have had time to ponder their feelings in a follow-up survey situation (Giacalone & Knouse, 1989; Hinrichs, 1975). The e-mail format would allow convenience in responding.

5. *Develop a Diversity Exit Information Database*

Respondents are more likely to take the survey or interview seriously if this becomes part of a larger important organizational effort (Zarandona & Camuso, 1985). A permanent database would show the importance the military places on diversity. Moreover, such a database may provide a valuable source of information for drafting diversity policy.

Conclusion

The military is currently very interested in reasons why personnel are leaving. Indeed, every Service recently enacted some type of exit survey in an attempt to capture the reasons for leaving or staying. Concurrent with this emphasis upon understanding stayers and leavers, the military is interested in the effects of diversity on its various operations. Therefore, exit instruments simultaneously dealing with issues of diversity, satisfaction, and reasons for separation would be highly useful. The present report offers a Diversity Exit Survey and a parallel Diversity Exit Interview as first attempts in understanding how diversity influences decisions to leave or to stay with the military.

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Appendix A
Item Pools from Various Military and Government Surveys

Items Adapted from the MEOCS-EEO 3.1.a

Negative Incidents

Scale: 1 = Very high chance action occurred
2 = Reasonable chance action occurred
3 = Moderate chance action occurred
4 = Small chance action occurred
5 = Almost no chance action occurred

Minorities frequently reprimanded but majorities rarely reprimanded
Negative graffiti in rest rooms about minorities or women
Supervisor did not recommend qualified minority for promotion
Minority assigned less desirable office space
In meetings, minorities or women asked less important questions
Person touched person of the opposite sex
Complaints of sexual harassment dismissed as being overly sensitive
Persons bringing sexual harassment complaints not promoted
Offensive racial or ethnic names frequently heard
Racial or ethnic jokes frequently heard
Supervisor referred to women by first names and men by titles
Attractive female assigned to escort visiting men
Women frequently asked to take notes during meetings
Minorities or women receive harsher punishments than majority or men for the same offense
A well-qualified person denied an assignment because supervisor did not like the individual's religious beliefs
A worker with a disability not given the same opportunities as other workers
Demeaning comments heard about certain religious groups
Minority workers get less desirable job conditions (e.g., location, equipment, tasks)

Items Adapted from the 2000 DMDC Military Exit Survey

Active Duty

Scale: 1=Very satisfied
2=Satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied

Basic pay
Incentive pay

Re-enlistment bonus
Housing allowance
Military housing
Health care
Retirement pay
Retirement benefits
Pace of promotions
Chances for future advancement
Training and professional development
Type of assignments
Deployments
Availability of resources
Level of manning in unit
Unit morale
Personal workload
Off-duty educational opportunities
Amount of personal/family time
Quality of leadership
Amount of enjoyment from job
Frequency of permanent change of station moves
Co-location with military spouse
Youth activities on base
Schooling for children
Spouse employment and career opportunities
Military family support programs
Acceptable and affordable childcare
Friendships developed in the military

Military Opportunities Compared to Civilian World

Scale: 1=Much better as civilian
 2=Somewhat better as civilian
 3=No difference
 4=Somewhat better in military
 5=Much better in military

Promotion opportunities
Amount of personal/family time
Hours worked per week
Vacation time
Education and training opportunities
Total compensation (pay, bonuses, allowances)
Health care benefits
Sense of accomplishment/pride
General quality of life

Workload/amount of work
Opportunity for travel
Freedom from discrimination
Fair performance evaluations
Freedom from harassment
Racial/ethnic relations overall
Gender relations overall

Reasons for Leaving the Service

Scale: 1=Not at all
 2=Slight extent
 3=Moderate extent
 4=Great extent
 5=Very great extent

Involuntarily separated/not accepted for re-enlistment
Near maximum age
Near maximum total time in grade
Overall job satisfaction
Pay and allowances
Failed to be promoted
Promotion/advancement opportunities
Level of fairness of performance evaluation
Not getting desirable assignments
Not getting assigned to jobs offering promotional development
Lack of training opportunities
Continuation of education
Desire to get out while civilian jobs are plentiful
Desire to start second career before too old
Desire to start second career before having to pay for children's education
Desire to settle in a particular location
Family problems at home
Family wanting separation or retirement
Number of permanent change of station moves
Too many deployments
One or more serious UCMJ offenses
Minor offenses or disciplinary problems
Homesickness
Lack of motivation, boredom
Problems with superior
Difficulty meeting physical fitness requirements
Maintaining weight/body fat requirements
Inadequate access to the World Wide Web

Items Adapted from AF New Directions Survey

How many months before your date of separation did you decide to separate?

Which of the following issues was most influential in your decision to separate:

Personal issues – job opportunities, furthering education, change in lifestyle

Military program/policy issues – assignments, pay or benefits, personnel policies, health care

Issues about the base – location, availability of recreation, schools, off-duty employment, health care, housing

Issues within the unit – peer or supervisor conflicts, work schedules, tempo of activities, lack of resources

Family issues – family's dissatisfaction with the military, health care, spending more time with the family

Factors in separation:

Scale 1=Very strong influence to leave
 2=Strong influence to leave
 3=Neither influence to leave nor stay
 4=Strong influence to stay
 5=Very strong influence to stay

Equal employment opportunities in the military (same pay regardless of sex, origin)

Evaluation systems

Availability of military facility resources (exchange, housing, commissary, recreation, child care)

Availability of health care (medical, dental)

Bonuses and special pay

Choice of job assignment

Tempo of activities on job

Leadership at different levels

Number of permanent change of station moves

Opportunity for education and training

Overall job satisfaction

Pay and allowances

Promotion opportunity

Recognition of efforts

Effectiveness of unit personnel (training and education)

Unit resources

Items Adapted from the Navy Argus Retention Survey

Scale 1=Influence to Leave
4=No Effect
7=Influence to Stay

Promotion/advancement opportunities
Control over your permanent changes of station
Unit morale
Camaraderie with coworkers
Competence of coworkers
Time spent away from home
Balance between work and personal time
Opportunity to travel
Recognition for job accomplishments
Availability of resources to do your job
Satisfaction with your job
Level of job challenge
Red tape
Cost of housing in relation to housing allowance
Family support for military career
Impact of moves on family
Impact of moves on spouse's career
Family support services at duty location
Health benefits
Availability of services (commissary, base exchange)
Amount of regulation
Discipline
Working relationships
Respect for leadership
Quality of leadership
Ease of finding civilian jobs that compensate (pay and benefits) as well as military job

Do you believe a civilian job will have:

Shorter hours
Better pay
Better benefits
Better job security
Better working conditions
Less time away from home
Better financial future

Better retirement plan

Items Adapted from the FAA EAS 2000 Survey

Scale: 1=Strongly disagree
2=Disagree
3=Neither disagree nor agree
4=Agree
5=Strongly Agree
6=Don't know

Satisfaction with compensation

Satisfaction with pay
Equity in pay and benefits
Satisfaction with recognition

Success in Achieving a Model Work Environment

Unfairly denied career opportunity
Sexually harassed in last 12 months

Satisfaction with people management

Supervisor coaching
Confidence in supervisors
Fairness of supervisors
Management concern
Trust in the organization
Trust in supervisors
Trust in coworkers

Conflict management

Reasons – task, skills, priorities, procedures, personalities
Conflict focus – subordinates, coworkers, supervisor, upper level management

Respondent characteristics

Job area
Grade
Time in grade
Time in service
Gender
Race/ethnicity

High School Youth Perceptions of Military Equal Opportunity Climate: A Longitudinal Assessment¹

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Abstract

Data from a national longitudinal survey of high school seniors are assessed to determine changes over time in perceptions about gender and racial discrimination in the military. Differences in youth attitudes about military equal opportunity (EO) are investigated across gender and racial boundaries as well as for those youth expressing a high propensity to join the military. Results are compared to findings of research on active duty attitudes concerning military EO climate.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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The demographic composition of the American armed forces has changed markedly in the last half century. African American men served in racially segregated units until the Korean War, and were underrepresented in the ranks until the Vietnam War. Their representation swelled during that conflict, and they have remained over-represented during the volunteer force era. Warfare has traditionally been regarded as a masculine vocation, and women comprised only two percent of the force when military conscription ended in 1973. However, their numbers and roles have since increased and they now comprise 14 percent of the force (D. Segal, 1989; Bourg & Segal, 2001). Changes in the American labor force, from which the armed forces are recruited, portend increasing social diversity in the ranks (Klerman & Karoly, 1994).

Recognizing this changing composition, the climate for racial and gender diversity in the American armed forces has been monitored since the end of conscription, albeit the former was attended to earlier than the latter. Early in the volunteer force era, Nordlie (1973) noted that Black enlisted personnel perceived a great deal of racial discrimination in the Army and believed that Whites were treated better than Blacks. Whites, on the other hand, perceived little discrimination and tended to feel that the races were treated equally. He found, for example, that 58% of white soldiers being surveyed selected a statement that "In general, blacks are treated the same as whites in the Army," while only 24% of Black Soldiers chose this alternative. By contrast, 72% of Black soldiers selected the alternative statement that "In general, blacks are treated worse than whites in the Army," while only 9% of white soldiers selected this option. The third alternative in this question, that "In general, blacks are treated better than whites in the Army," was selected by 30% of white soldiers and only 1% of black soldiers.

There is no question but that race relations have improved during the almost three decades of the volunteer force (e.g., Moskos and Butler, 1996). However, when the Department of Defense surveyed its personnel in 1996-1997, it found that while 68% of White personnel felt that race relations were good at the installations or ships on which they served, only 39% of Black personnel agreed (Scarville et al., 1999).

When gender was included in the analyses, widening gaps between the perceptions of the military's equal opportunity (EO) climate by race and by gender were revealed in the early 1990s in the Navy, and the effects of race and gender were additive, so that the most negative group was Black women and the most positive was White men (Rosenfeld, Newell, and Le, 1998). Among Army personnel, Moore and Webb (2000) likewise found that there were important

differences in perceptions of the EO climate, with the effects of race being stronger than those of gender. Moore (2001) also found that among Army women, the EO climate was seen as more positive in combat support units than in combat units.

There has been little substantive investigation into the attitudes of civilians regarding discrimination against either women or minorities in the military. The only civilian interest in military EO seems to occur in response to periodic public issues, such as the Navy's Tailhook convention debacle in 1991, the expansion of women's roles and opportunities in the military in 1994, integration of women at VMI and the Citadel, and sexual harassment scandals in the Army in 1996 and 1997. Since the EO climate may affect military recruiting and retention, this paper seeks tap a source of information that directly measures the EO attitudes of a most important population of interest to the military and scholars of military personnel issues, after active-duty members themselves. That population is the annual cohort of high school seniors. This group is comprised of those individuals closest to service in the armed forces and, therefore, whose attitudes are of particular value to those who study the military.

This paper seeks to investigate the extent to which American youth's perceptions of military EO have changed over time and whether or not differences in these attitudes can be detected in terms of gender, race, or relative propensity to serve in the armed forces. Additionally, this paper suggests a means to consider social and historical factors that might help explain changes in youth perceptions over time.

Method

Our data are drawn from the University of Michigan's Monitoring the Future (MtF) project. MtF is an annual survey of nationally representative samples of secondary school seniors from across the coterminous United States on issues concerning drug use and related factors, vocational and educational plans and aspirations and attitudes about many different social institutions (Bachman et al., 2000b; Segal et al., 1999). It has surveyed about 16,000 high school seniors each year since 1975. The survey incorporates multistage random sampling including stratification, clustering, and differential weighting of respondent scores to provide the most accurate and representative cross-section of high school senior opinions (Bachman et al., 2000b; Segal et al. 1999). It has been used frequently to measure attitudes and behaviors regarding the military (see for example Bachman et al., 2000b; Segal, et al., 1999; Bachman et al., 1998).

Among other issues, MtF respondents were asked to rate a number of characteristics of the military services as a place to work. Their responses were provided on a five-point scale, measuring the extent to which they believed the military services exhibited the characteristic being surveyed (to a very little extent, to a little extent, to some extent, to a great extent, to a very great extent) (Bachman, Freedman-Doan, and O'Malley, 2000a). In particular, two questions addressed youth perceptions of military EO climate in terms of discrimination against women and discrimination against African Americans. The first question asked, "To what extent do you think there is any discrimination against women who are in the armed services?" and the second question asked, "To what extent do you think there is any discrimination against African American people in the armed services?"

Results

The MtF data for the twenty-four year period from 1976 to 1999, presented in Figures 1 and 2 (from Bachman, Freedman-Doan, and O'Malley 2000a), show trends in youth perceptions of the extent to which military services discriminate against women and African Americans. The results show that, over time, increasing percentages of youth believe the military discriminates against both women and African Americans to either "a very great extent" or "a great extent." The greatest change in perceptions seems to have occurred in the most recent decade for attitudes both about gender and racial discrimination, while at the same time the differences in perceptions between males and females for both subjects have increased, with females perceiving greater discrimination in both areas.

Women have constantly perceived more gender discrimination than men, and this difference increased in the 1990s. Women did not perceive more racial discrimination than men until the 1990s. In general, perceptions of racial discrimination were more stable in the pre-1990 period than were perceptions of gender discrimination. During the 1990s, however, perceptions about discrimination against African Americans in the military increased approximately four percent for males while increasing nearly ten percent for females. The comparable increases in perceptions of gender discrimination were about ten percent for men and about twelve percent for women.

Figure 1
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against Women in Armed Forces
Among High School Seniors, by Gender, 1976-1999
(Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)

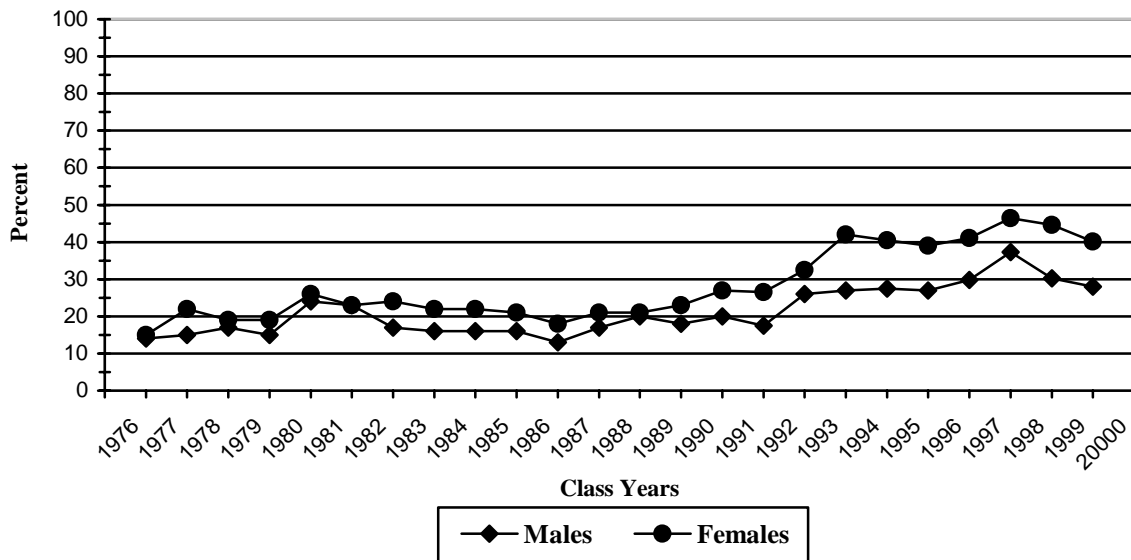


Figure 2
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against African Americans in Armed Forces
Among High School Seniors, by Gender, 1976-1999
 (Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)

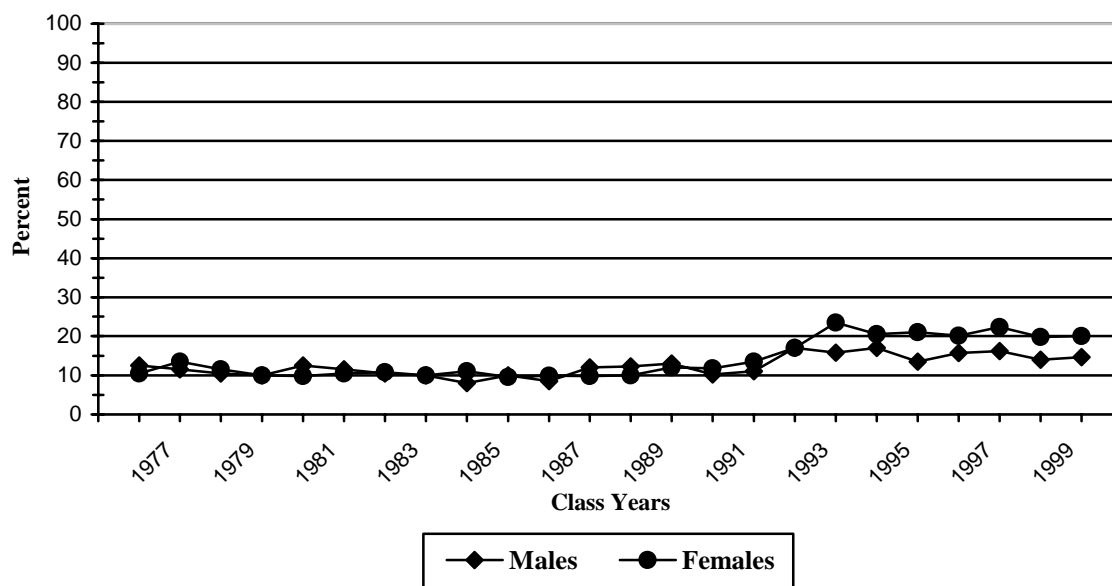
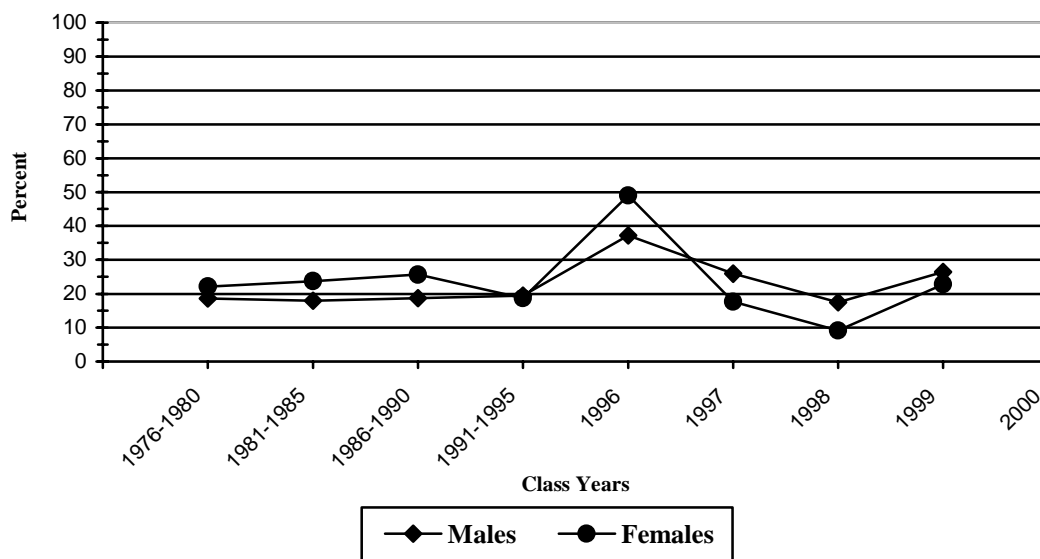


Figure 3 presents data on those high school seniors reporting that they "definitely will serve" in the armed services upon completion of high school.² The MtF data indicate that typically about eight percent of the males and slightly more than two percent of the females surveyed each year are categorized as 'high propensity' for military service. Previous research using these data show that about 70 percent of high propensity male high school seniors and about 40 percent of high propensity female high school seniors actually join the military within six years of graduation (Bachman et al., 1998; Segal et al., 1999).

² Figures 3-6 present data from 1976 to 1995 as five-year averages and data from 1996 to 1999 as annual point estimates.

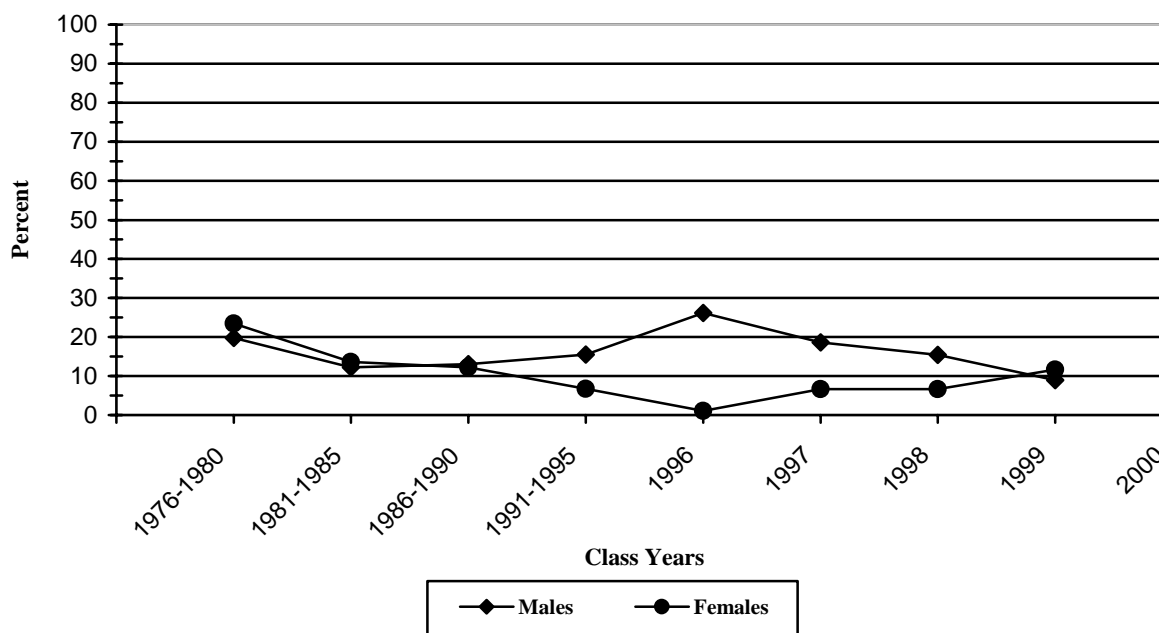
Figure 3
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against Women in Armed Forces
Among High Propensity High School Seniors, by Gender, 1976-1999
 (Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)



Interestingly, from Figure 3 it appears that, until 1990, both male and female high propensity youth perceptions about gender discrimination in the military were similar to the total sample. Until 1991, high propensity women perceived more gender discrimination than high propensity men. These converged between 1991 and 1995, when perceptions of discrimination among high propensity youth seem to have been lower than that of their peers. There was an upward spike in perceptions of gender discrimination in 1996. Interestingly, between 1996 and 1998, while the total sample continued a general upwards trend, the perceptions of gender discrimination for both high propensity male and female youth decreased markedly. It increased again in 1999.

Figure 4 presents the percentages of high propensity high school seniors who perceived that discrimination against African Americans in the armed forces exists to a great or very great extent. Overall, high propensity youth perceive, as in the total sample, less discrimination against African Americans than against women. However, until 1991, and particularly before 1989, the perceptions of high propensity youth concerning discrimination against African Americans were generally higher than for the full samples. After 1991, a comparison of Figures 1 and 4 shows an interesting trend in which high propensity females' views about discrimination against African Americans decreased below 10 percent, whereas perceptions of the total female sample increased above 20 percent. At the same time, high propensity and total sample male perceptions about discrimination against African Americans were not nearly as divergent.

Figure 4
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against African Americans in Armed Forces
Among High Propensity High School Seniors, by Gender, 1976-1999
 (Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)



Figures 5 and 6 provide data on perceptions by race and gender for each of the survey questions. In Figure 5, African American women generally held the highest perceptions of discrimination against women in the military while Caucasian men held the lowest perception levels. The differences in perceptions on gender discrimination in the early MtF data appear to be based more on differences in race, whereas starting in 1990; differences in perceptions are based mainly on gender. In this case, both racial groups of women perceived higher levels of gender discrimination in the armed services than did men. In the most recent year reported, an interesting distinction existed in which African American males and Caucasian females held very similar perception levels on gender discrimination, while African American females and Caucasian males held similar perceptions albeit more than 10 percentage points lower.

In Figure 6 however, one sees a consistent distinction in perceptions about discrimination against African Americans. With the exception of the two most recent years, perceptions of African American youth, male and female alike are at least 10 percentage points higher than Caucasian youth of either gender. In the last two years, female attitudes appear to be moderating towards one another, while male perceptions of discrimination against African Americans remain rather far apart.

Figure 5
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against Women in Armed Forces
Among High School Seniors, by Race and Gender, 1976-1999
(Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)

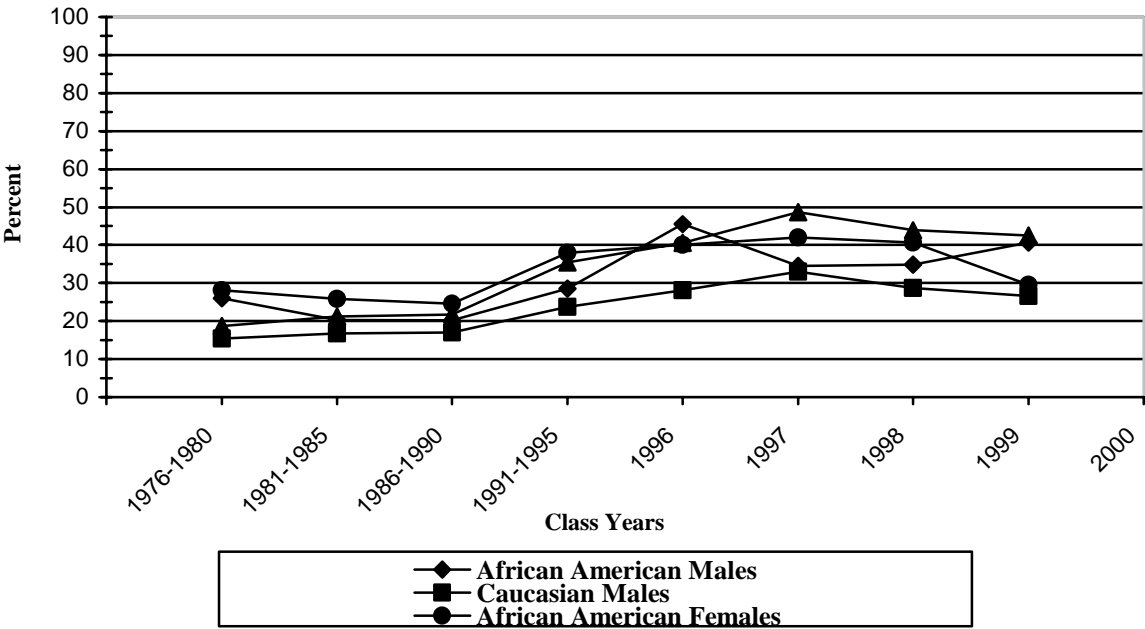
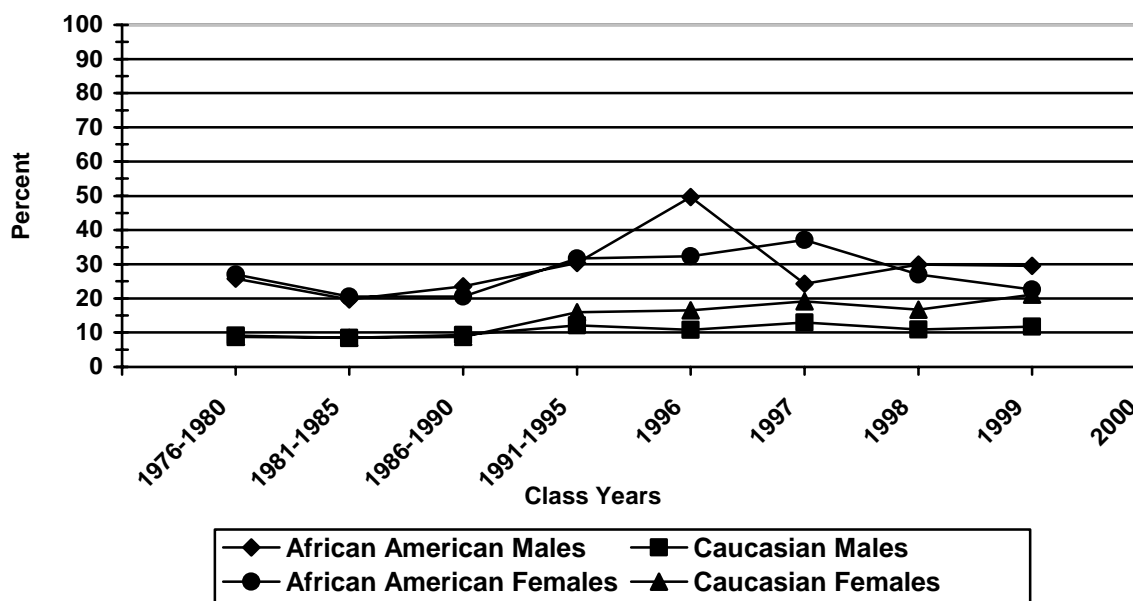


Figure 6
Trends in Perceptions that the Military Discriminates
Against African Americans in Armed Forces
Among High School Seniors, by Race and Gender, 1976-1999
(Percentage "To a Very Great Extent" and "To a Great Extent," Combined)



Discussion

This brief study shows that increasing percentages of American youth perceive that discrimination against both women and African Americans occurs to a great extent or very great extent in the armed forces. While the data raise a number of issues concerning whether gender, race or propensity to serve affect perceptions about discrimination, this paper has only investigated the difference and specific changes in those perceptions over time. These data on youth perceptions compliment previous research on military attitudes, which concludes that race, is a powerful predictor of EO climate assessments. However, the MtF data indicate perhaps a greater effect for gender in youth perceptions than that in research on military attitudes (Moore and Webb 2000).

Interestingly, the most distinct changes in youth perceptions regardless of race, gender, or propensity to serve in the armed forces have occurred since 1991. Propensity to serve in the military also dropped precipitously among high school seniors at that point (Segal et al., 1999). What social factors influenced these changes remains a matter of speculation, but the overall trends in perceptions seem to correspond to significant public events and issues. For instance, while there was a major inflection in the trend at the time of the Gulf War, the largest increases in youth perceptions of discrimination against women occurred in 1977, 1980, 1991-1992, and 1996-1997. Anecdotally, women first entered the service academies in 1976 and graduated in 1980, the Navy's Tailhook scandal and subsequent investigation occurred in 1991-1992 and the Army's sexual harassment scandal at Aberdeen Proving Grounds occurred in 1996 and

controversy surrounding the Sergeant Major of the Army in 1997. Likewise, smaller decreases in youth perceptions of discrimination against women occurred in 1986, 1991, and 1994-1995. In 1986, military action occurred against Libya and in 1986-1987, U.S. military presence expanded significantly in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war, the Persian Gulf War to drive Iraq from Kuwait occurred in 1991 and significant modifications to the combat exclusion provision for women occurred in 1993-1994.

Whether or not factors such as these have influenced youth perceptions cannot be determined from these data, however, it is apparent that the most recent decade has produced new and different dynamics in the way youth perceptions of military EO are formed. These dynamics are evident across all groups surveyed and affect even those youth most likely to serve in the armed services. Understanding how these changes are shaped may promote an understanding of why youth perceptions of discrimination against women and African Americans in the military have increased in recent years. As a result, social scientists and military personnel researchers will provide policy makers important information in support of initiatives designed to improve the military's EO climate, thus enhancing general perceptions America's youth hold for the armed services.

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Perceptions of Effectiveness of Responses to Sexual Harassment in the U.S. Military, 1988, and 1995*

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Abstract

This analysis compares patterns of response to the harassment experiences that had the greatest effect on the respondents to the “1988 Department of Defense (DoD) Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military” and Form A of the “1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey.” We analyze the respondents’ perceptions about effectiveness of their responses, and respondents’ opinions about the efforts of senior military leadership, and their own immediate supervisors’ efforts to “make honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active-duty military” (DoD, 1988; Bastian, et al., 1996). Results indicate that while the military has been somewhat successful in attempts to lower actual incidence of sexual harassment, the percent of those experiencing such uninvited and unwanted behaviors remains high. Similar patterns of responses in both years, with most employing personal solutions and few filing complaints with officials, may reflect the fact that official DoD policy focuses on individual behavior and does not address the masculine environmental context that promotes such behaviors (see also Harrell & Miller, 1997). Findings also suggest that the “no tolerance” policies adopted by the military may concentrate on military image but ignore the wishes of the complainants who fear reprisals. If the rights and wishes of all parties involved are not taken into account, policies are unlikely to be successful (see for example Rowe, 1996)

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

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Introduction

In 1988, the Department of Defense conducted a survey across Services to establish baseline data on sexual harassment within the active duty population. Sexual harassment was pervasive throughout all branches of the Service despite official policies against such behavior (for reports on the initial 1988 survey data see, Firestone and Harris, 1994; Martindale, 1991). Since the 1988 survey was conducted, a variety of events, such as the Clarence Thomas Hearings, the Tailhook scandal and various incidents at basic training facilities have occurred that raised the consciousness of the public with regard to sexual harassment in the military. In response, the military made reducing sexual harassment a priority through policy implementation and educational programs (Bastian, 1996). Military leaders adopted a “zero tolerance” program focusing on investigation and adjudication (see, for example Boles, 1995). As part of the process in 1993, the decision was made to re-administer the sexual harassment survey, and data were collected in 1995.

Most organizations use the U.S. Office of Personnel management policy statement as the model for defining sexual harassment; this definition recognizes two types of sexual harassment, “quid pro quo,” where someone predicates employment opportunities on a sexual relationship with the employee or applicant. “Hostile environment” occurs where unwelcome sexual conduct or comments have either the purpose or effect of interfering with an employee's work effort by creating an intimidating, abusive, or insulting working environment (reported in U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1988:2). The key concepts in describing harassing behavior continue to be uninvited and unwanted. Virtually any sexual behavior, including requests for dates, pressure for sexual activities, comments, jokes, and attempted and forcible rape can be perceived as sexual harassment, depending on individual characteristics as well as specific contexts in which the behavior occurred. Moreover, any of those same behaviors constitute illegal sexual harassment if they are considered severe and pervasive.¹ The DoD surveys utilized for this analysis furnished a detailed framework from which the respondents could evaluate conditions in the work site (see Appendix A for the DoD definition).

¹ While “severe” and “pervasive” could have different meanings for different individuals, the current legal standard is based on what a “reasonable woman” would determine to be severe and pervasive.

This study focuses on responses to perceived sexual harassment and perceptions of the effectiveness of those responses comparing the data reported in 1988 to the data from 1995. Data are taken from the 1988 Department of Defense (DoD) Survey of Sex Roles and from Form A of the “1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey.” Both samples are large enough to identify patterns and effectiveness of responses by type of harassment experienced. We begin with a review of the military organizational context, which may contribute to sexual harassment, followed by a discussion of possible responses by those harassed, as well as the perceived effectiveness of those responses.

Organizational Climate and Sexual Harassment

Despite being a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, sexual harassment continues to be a pervasive problem in the workplace. A survey conducted by the US Merit System Protection Board in 1994 found that 19 percent of men and 44 percent of women in government positions experienced harassment (USMSPB, 1994). These percentages are higher among civilian employees of military departments. Research based on the 1988 survey data found that in the active duty military population 73 percent of military women reported being harassed (Firestone and Harris, 1994; Martindale, 1991).

Data that are more recent indicate that, in spite of organizational efforts, rates of harassment remain high, suggesting that present legal and organizational structures may be inadequate in controlling harassing behaviors (Hulin, et al., 1996; Rowe, 1996). Even if current emphasis on sexual harassment has legitimized claims and thereby increased complaints, the high proportion of respondents still alleging harassment suggests that policies may need amending. For example, the number of sexual harassment complaints in the military nearly doubled – 604 in 1988 and 1033 in 1995 (Cohen, 1997). Furthermore, employees who have been harassed seldom respond by using established grievance procedures (Bingham and Scherer, 1993; Firestone and Harris, 1997; Gruber & Bjorn, 1986; Grundmann, et al. 1997; Hulin, et al., 1996; Riger, 1991).

Differential sex role socialization between men and women reinforces the organizational dynamics associated with sexual harassment. The male sex role encourages dominance and aggressiveness while the female sex role encourages subordination and submissiveness which then spills over into the organizational environment (Gutak & Morasch, 1982; Firestone, 1984; Shields, 1988; Tangri and Hayes, 1997; Terpstra and Baker, 1986). One outcome of the gender socialization processes may be to create an environment in which harassing behaviors are consistent with the expectations associated with the male sex role. The U.S. military provides a case in point. While a separate corps for women has been abolished and quotas on the numbers of women who could be recruited were lifted, women are still excluded from holding most positions related to the primary mission of the military, combat roles. One important basis for this exclusion is that women are thought to intrude on the male bonding that is considered necessary for optimum combat performance. This process clearly defines women as outsiders to the core military mission. Similar arguments have been used against homosexual men who are accused of intruding on male bonding on the one hand and damaging its masculine image on the other (Shawver, 1995: 5).

Several elements of military culture may increase the likelihood that sexual harassment occurs and that targets do not report harassment through established channels. First, organizational cohesion is highly valued within the military; thus divulging negative information about a fellow soldier is considered taboo². It is well established that men and women have different definitions about what actions become defined as intimidating, hostile, or offensive (see for example, Katz and Whitten, 1996; Saal, 1996; Saal, et al., 1993; Thomas, 1995), and that only individuals who define a situation as sexual harassment will report it (Malovich & Stake, 1990; Saal, et al., 1993). Indeed those behaviors accepted as typical social interactions within a particular environment are much less likely to be viewed as sexual harassment and most likely to be viewed differently by men and women (Fitzgerald and Shullman, 1993; Thomas, 1995). Thus, a male commanding officer may not view an event reported by a woman as sexual harassment and therefore give little credibility to her complaint. In addition, male coworkers may be unwilling to corroborate complaints if they do not perceive them as harassment making it difficult for women to carry a complaint forward through official channels. Both examples could operate to inhibit women from reporting behaviors they believe males may not view as sexual harassment. Second, these same behaviors have long been a part of military culture exacerbating reporting problems because “tattling” about time-honored practices (e.g. lewd jokes, whistles, obscene gestures) can label individuals as outsiders who do not fit into the organization. Third, in an environment where hostile interactions toward and about women are the norm, there may be social pressure on men to engage in such behavior to maintain their standing among peers. Additionally, while cohesion is highly valued in the military, it has been used to exclude rather than include women into the organization (see for example, Harrell & Miller, 1997: 75; Segal, 1995; Rosen, et al., 1999).³

The fact that some women willingly conduct themselves in stereotypically male manners or engage in consensual sexual relations with male colleagues highlights the complex relationships of sex and gender to the masculine military culture. Women who attempt to become “one of the guys” may be expected to accept or even participate in behaviors that demean women. Those women who reject these masculine behaviors may be labeled Lesbian, subject to investigation and being forced out of the military. In other circumstances, women who engage in consensual sexual relations with male soldiers may be protected from some harassment and other negative behaviors, but later they can be described as prostitutes. Alternatively, those women who refuse to sleep with male colleagues may again be labeled Lesbian.

On the one hand, findings from small group studies consistently show that those with more organizational power are more likely to harass (Tangri and Hayes, 1997; Terpstra and Baker, 1986). On the other hand, larger representative samples indicate that coworkers were more often responsible for harassment than were supervisors (Firestone and Harris, 1994; Gutek, 1985; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1994). While coworkers and subordinates may lack authority from organizational legitimacy, they may have individual power based on personality,

² Rosen, et al. (1999) in a meta-analysis across five studies found consistent, albeit small, negative correlations between unit cohesion and percentage of women.

³ We acknowledge that there are multiple masculinities within the military culture (based on rank, race, ethnicity, age and branch of service). However, they are still based on the idea of the military as a “manly” organization (see for example, Barret, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Mumby, 1998.)

or from controlling and manipulating critical information (Thacker, 1996). Given the strong emphasis on male attributes in defining a “good” soldier, being male may provide enough power to engage in harassing behaviors in spite of their being against military policy.

Additional complicating factors exist because specific organizational characteristics such as type of technology, worker proximity, sex ratios, availability of grievance procedures, etc. may moderate the extent of harassment, the types of responses, and perceptions about adequacy of responses to such behaviors (Gruber & Bjorn, 1986; Hulin, et al., 1996; Gutak & Morasch, 1982; Kanter, 1977; Rowe, 1996; Rosen and Lee, 1998). Because of such contextual differences, policies regarding sexual harassment are most often organizational specific. Without consistency in policies across organizations, enforcement problems may be intensified because targets may be concerned about whether the complaint will be taken seriously and may be confused about appropriate steps to take. Lack of uniform policy enforcement thereby reinforces underreporting of incidents.

Rowe (1996: 270) argues strongly that before individuals will take action against harassment “employers must respect the wishes of complainants and provide multiple access points and many options.” Targets should be able to seek assistance off the record if they fear reprisals, but those informal requests for help should have organizational consequences. In the case of an off-the-record appeal, a designated ombudsman representative could have an informal discussion with the harasser, or suggest a departmental training program for all employees. Gruber (1998) supports these findings. Gruber found that organizations that take a variety of steps to stop harassment are more likely to be successful than those relying only on educating employees. In addition, the attitudes of leaders can be important. LaVite and Stoller (1993) found that organizational leaders who actively discourage harassment create an organizational climate in which unacceptable behaviors are less likely to be tolerated. Whether or not incidents are reported and the type of response initiated by the target, impact perceptions about the effectiveness of solutions (Bingham & Scherer, 1993; Firestone and Harris, 1997; Grauerholz, 1989; Livingston, 1982; Maypole, 1986; U.S. Merit System Protection Board, 1994).

Possible Responses to Sexual Harassment

Most informal responses to sexual harassment are individual attempts by the target to confront the harasser, although “off the record” discussions with supervisors are also possible (Bingham & Scherer, 1993; Grauerholz, 1989; Gruber & Bjorn, 1986; Harris & Firestone, 1997; Loy & Stewart, 1984; U.S. Merit System Protection Board, 1994). Formal responses typically entail utilizing institutional procedures. Using formal organizational channels may depend on perceptions that the complaint will be taken seriously, and that the prevailing policies will support a fair outcome (Hulin, et al., 1996; Rowe, 1996; Tangri, Burt & Johnson, 1982). Targets who fear retaliation are unlikely to report incidents, regardless of the egregiousness of the acts (Rowe, 1996; Staples, 1994; Zimmerman, 1995).

Individual responses overtly put the burden of ending the behavior on the person being harassed, although the filing of a formal complaint does not necessarily shift the burden of handling the situation to the organization. The process of completing the formal procedures may

be so onerous and difficult that the burden is still primarily on the person experiencing harassment. Those in supervisory positions may prefer individual level responses rather than accepting organizational responsibility. In the military, in particular, most high-level leaders are men, who may have been socialized to consider women as intrusions on the military mission (see for example, Harrell & Miller, 1997; Patrow & Patrow, 1986; Rogan, 1981; Schneider & Schneider, 1988; Steihm, 1989; Zimmerman, 1995). As recent newspaper headlines attest, men in high levels of command may have engaged in past acts similar to those now classified as sexual harassment. A focus on individual responses isolates the target and allows perpetrators to “blame the victim” and ignore the environmental context and individual accountability of those engaged in harassment (see Clair, 1993; Harrell & Miller, 1997: 75-76). Personal rather than formal responses to harassment continue to reinforce military leaders’ attempts to absolve themselves of knowledge about such behaviors and, therefore, of any responsibility for changing the structures which support harassment.

The use of both individual level responses and organizational channels to report harassment presumes a safe environment in which the person being harassed feels comfortable telling the harasser to stop. Unfortunately, research illustrates how rather than furnishing a safe reporting environment, organizational environments often perpetuate sexual harassment and discourage formal responses (Fain & Anderton, 1987; Gruber & Bjorn, 1986; Kanter, 1977). The individuals who use their organizational positions within an organizational system to compel others to provide sexual gratification may also be the same people to whom the incidents are supposed to be reported. All of these suggest that the structure of the military may exacerbate sexual harassment. As a case in point, Harrell & Miller (1997: 75) reported that often women did not report harassment because they felt that “such reports would be used to prove that women do not belong in the military,” or “that nothing would happen,” or that those reporting “would be subject to a backlash of gender harassment by others in the unit.”

Perceived Effectiveness of Responses to Sexual Harassment

Effectiveness of response strategies in combination with a satisfactory outcome may be related to the severity of the harassment (Hulin, et al., 1996; Terpstra & Baker, 1986); perceptions of organizational tolerance of harassment (Firestone and Harris, 1997; Hulin, et al., 1996); gender (Bingham and Scherer, 1993); and the type of response used by sexually harassed individuals (Bingham & Scherer, 1993; Firestone and Harris, 1997; Grauerholz, 1989; Livingston, 1982; Maypole, 1986; U.S. Merit System Protection Board, 1994).

A majority of those harassed believed directly confronting the harasser was either effective or somewhat effective in alleviating the situation (Bingham & Scherer, 1993; Firestone and Harris, 1997; Grauerholz, 1989; Livingston, 1982; U.S. Merit System, 1994). Telling or threatening to tell other colleagues is also perceived as effective, although perhaps more so for women than for men (Firestone and Harris, 1997). Regardless of perceived outcome, both direct confrontations and telling other colleagues require perceptions of a workplace environment in which colleagues will take the complaints seriously.

In contrast, use of formal organizational structures is associated with more mixed opinions about the outcome. Livingston (1982) found that 50% of those who filed formal complaints felt it

made the situation better, while 33% thought that the situation became worse. Grauerholz (1989) found that all who filed a formal complaint found it “somewhat effective,” while only half of those employing informal complaints found that type of response “somewhat effective.” Firestone and Harris (1997) found that among the small percentage that reported the incident to an official (about 11% of men and 22% of women), 45% of the men and 50% of the women believed it “made things better.” However, Bingham & Scherer (1993) reported that using formal procedures was unrelated to whether or not the person harassed was satisfied with the outcome. All researchers agreed that formal channels were the least utilized methods of resolving harassment situations, regardless of satisfaction with outcome.

The U. S. military provides an interesting context for analyzing data regarding sexual harassment in public service organizations. As noted, harassment in general is part of the culture of the military, and a large part of this process focuses on stereotypical masculine traits as synonymous with being a good soldier.⁴ As a result, the organizational climate of the military may be perceived as neither open to informal complaints nor a safe place in which to lodge formal complaints (Firestone & Harris, 1997). Harassing behavior may be common in the military precisely because official DoD policy focuses on individual behavior and does not address the environmental context that promotes such behaviors (Firestone & Harris, 1994). In addition, some women in the military can, and do have authority over lower ranking men. In a few cases, women may comprise the majority of the work group, and men could be excluded.⁵

Our analysis compares patterns of response to the harassment experiences that had the greatest effect on the respondents to the “1988 DoD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military” and Form A of the “1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey.” We analyze whether respondents’ perceptions about effectiveness of their responses to harassment changed between 1988 and 1995. We also compare opinions about the efforts of senior military leadership, and their own immediate supervisor's efforts to “make honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active-duty military” (DoD, 1988; 1995).

Methods

Data and Sample Information

The “1988 DoD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military” and Form A of the “1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey,” conducted for the Office of the Secretary of Defense by the Defense Manpower Data Center, provide the data bases for this analysis. Both were “worldwide scientific survey[s] of how men and women work together in the ... Active-duty Military Services...” (Martindale, 1990; 1991; Bastian, et al., 1997), representing the Air Force,

⁴ While the degree of harassment and masculine stereotyping may vary across Service branches (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines) all share similar basic cultural traits (Segal, 1995) and similar high rates of reported sexual harassment, and that the rates of harassment changed little between 1988 and 1995 (Firestone & Harris, 1999).

⁵ Data from the 1995 survey indicate that 6.3% of men and 8.5% of women reported working in groups where there were more women than men (Firestone & Harris, 1999).

Army, Coast Guard, Marines and Navy. Form A was specifically designed to replicate the earlier 1988 survey.

The stated purpose of both surveys was to ask about "... observations, opinions and experiences with ALL KINDS of sexual talk and behavior that can occur at work" (Martindale, 1990; 1991; Bastian, et al., 1997). The instruments emphasized the importance of responses both from those who have not been sexually harassed as well as those who have been harassed. Responses were voluntary, but the instruments indicated that "... maximum participation is encouraged so that data will be complete and representative..." and that the "... information will assist in the formulation of policies which may be needed to improve the working environment." Both the 1988⁶ and 1995⁷ surveys were stratified by branch of Service, location, paygrade group, gender, race/ethnicity, and occupational grouping based on the prevalence of women. Our analyses are based on a comparison of responses from 10,752 males and 9,497 females in 1988 and 2,842 males and 10,757 females in 1995.

Variable Construction

In addition to identifying the types of behavior considered sexual harassment (see Appendix A), the surveys provided examples of each category of harassment. With such a comprehensive definition, respondents were able to make succinct determinations regarding their work experiences. As developed in Firestone and Harris (1994; 1997), harassment is classified into two major types: environmental and individual. Individualistic forms of sexual harassment were identified as behaviors that were frequently directly physical in nature and leave little room for misinterpretation by either the victim or the perpetrator, including: actual or attempted rape or sexual assault, unwanted, uninvited pressure for sexual favors, unwanted, uninvited touching, leaning over, cornering, pinching or brushing against in a deliberately sexual nature, and unwanted, uninvited pressure for dates. We differentiated this form from the broader category of environmental harassment that includes unwanted, uninvited sexually suggestive looks, gestures or body language unwanted uninvited letters, telephone calls, or materials of a sexual nature, and unwanted, uninvited whistles, calls, hoots or yells of a sexual nature. These two forms of

⁶ As reported in Martindale (1990; 1991) and Firestone & Harris (1994) the 1988 data were from a stratified random sample of 20,249 respondents drawn for the survey, representing male and female enlisted personnel and officers in the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Coast Guard. The original sample includes 10,752 males and 9,497 females, illustrating the over-sampling of women. Marines and Coast Guard members were also over sampled. A weighting scheme was developed by the original survey team at the Defense Manpower Data Center tied to branch of service, rank, sex, and race. The full weights provide estimated numbers of respondents that approximate the total active force at the time of the survey. For the analyses that follow, the full weight was divided by the mean weight, retaining estimates of the approximate total number of cases in the original survey. See Firestone and Harris (1994) for more detail.

⁷ Of the 13,599 respondents to Form A of the survey, 20.9% are male and 79.1% are female. The number of cases in the 1995 data utilizing the stratification weights is 28,511 representing 87.4 percent males and 12.6 percent females. The final weight variable developed by the DoD increased respondent totals up to the estimated force structure. For this analysis, this final weight has been divided by its mean to bring the total number of cases down to the number originally surveyed. Thus, responses are weighted for the stratification variables, representing the proportions (but not the total numbers) of military personnel in 1995.

harassment were distinguished to reflect both differences in the legal definitions (*quid pro quo* and environmental types of harassment), and because most individuals experience environmental rather than the more individualized types of behaviors. Because the environmental forms of harassment are the types which people have more difficulty classifying as harassment, we would expect targets to be less likely to report these through official channels for fear that others would not take the complaint seriously.

Respondents were placed into four categories (never been harassed, perceived only individual type harassment, perceived only environmental harassment, and those experiencing both forms). Additionally, respondents are classified as to whether the reported harassment occurred at any time during service, or whether it occurred within the last twelve months of duty.

Respondents were asked separately whether senior military leadership or intermediate supervisors were making honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment, and about the attitude towards sexual harassment of the commanding officer where they worked. In another set of questions, respondents were asked about their response to the harassment, and how effective they believed their response was in stopping the offending behaviors.

Data were analyzed using SPSS to create crosstabulations of the responses by sex of the respondent for each year of the survey. Based on the weighted sample sizes, the average pooled standard error for differences in proportions between 1988 and 1995 is .019 for females and .007 for males. Therefore, any expected difference in percentages of 3.1% or greater for women and 1.2% or greater for men is statistically significant ($t > 1.645$, $p < .05$, one-tailed test). Consequently, almost all results are statistically significant due to the large sample sizes, and comparing the magnitude of differences in results is the key to interpreting our evidence. This analysis extends the preliminary comparison of changes in reported incidents of harassment reported by Firestone and Harris (1999) to include an analysis of perceptions about the organizational climate and the individual's self-reported responses to the incidents.

Results

Perceptions of respondents about the harassment they reported experiencing focus on the overt organizational context in two distinct areas. One set of questions centers on whether particular persons or organizations make "...honest and reasonable efforts to stop sexual harassment in the active duty military, regardless of what is said officially." Another question measures perceptions about the "...attitude toward sexual harassment of the commanding officer at your base/post." Respondents are also classified by whether they reported having been ever (at any time) sexually harassed while in the active duty military and, if so, on the nature of the harassment.

Table 1 compares the reported harassment of men and women for the 1988 and the 1995 surveys. The percent of both males and females reporting that they had been sexually harassed while in the active duty military decreased. The percentage reporting either environmental or individual harassment also occurred less frequently. While the percentage of men reporting harassment declined, the absolute decline is not as much as that for women, partly due to the lower

levels reported by men in 1988. For the females, it is noteworthy that the percent decline in reported harassment is greater with reference to the last twelve months than with reference to any time while in the military. This may reflect a beneficial impact of current policy efforts. Nevertheless, while the percentage of women who reported harassment decreased, the percent reporting harassment remains very high.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 compares data from 1988 and 1995 on the perceptions of “honest and reasonable” efforts on the part of the Senior Military Leadership and the Immediate Supervisor/Commanding Officer by type of harassment experience separately for males and females. Overall, a majority of men and women in all categories indicate “yes” they believe that honest and reasonable efforts are made to stop sexual harassment, and the proportion saying “yes” increased for both men and women in all categories. In 1995, males are still slightly more likely to have a positive sense of the senior military leadership than their immediate supervisors. Interestingly, for males a positive sense of their immediate supervisors increased more for those experiencing individual harassment than for those experiencing environmental harassment. For women, the increased belief that leaders are making honest efforts to prevent harassment is very slight for those experiencing both types of harassment or environmental harassment only. Among women reporting individual only, perceptions about leadership’s efforts increased substantially. Among men, the proportion experiencing individual harassment, who said they had “no opinion” about the efforts of their immediate supervisor or commanding officer dropped substantially. Almost all of the change occurred in the “yes” responses to that question, although a slightly smaller percent said “no.” With this one exception, both in 1988 and again in 1995, type of harassment experience makes a difference in respondent’s assessment of military leaders attempts to contain harassment only when both environmental and individual harassment are reported. In that case, in both years males and females report a less favorable perception of the efforts at both senior and intermediate/supervisor administrative levels.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

It is interesting that the proportion of females who report both types of harassment and do not believe honest and reasonable efforts are made to stop sexual harassment by the immediate supervisor/commanding officer remained about the same, while the percentages decreased for men. The fact that these percentages remain high could reflect failure in the effectiveness of implementing current policies, including failure to communicate effectively about existing policies/procedures and failure to make it clear that charges will be taken seriously. In this situation, those experiencing harassment, and women in particular, may be unwilling to respond through official channels.

Table 3 compares results of the respondents’ assessment of the attitude of the commanding officer. The percentage of both men and women who think that the commanding officer “very actively discourages sexual harassment” increased substantially between 1988 and 1995. The percent of both men and women who indicate that the commanding officer “has spoken out against it and does seem to want it stopped” changed very little. This means that in 1995, about 24 percent

of the men and over thirty percent of the women were not aware of any overt action by the commanding officer to stop sexual harassment. In 1988, those reporting harassment experiences were only a little less likely to think the commanding officer wanted to prevent the behavior; by 1995, however, a substantial majority of those never harassed believed it is actively discouraged. This suggests that both those never harassed and those reporting some form of harassment had similar perceptions about commanding officers. Focusing on the “actively discourages” category, there is a greater difference in responses between those never harassed and those reporting any harassment. Such differences in perceptions clearly could shape the pattern of individual responses to their own sexual harassment experiences. In addition, a widening perceptual gap between those experiencing harassment and those who have not could erode open communications about incidents reinforcing target’s propensity to avoid using official reporting channels.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Table 4 compares results on behavioral responses to the “one experience that had the greatest effect on you” in terms of uninvited and unwanted sexual attention within the last twelve months, and the perceived effect of the action. Most immediately noteworthy is the fact that the small proportion of both men and women who reported the behavior to an official has remained virtually the same. In 1995, only 53.3% of the women and 44.8% of the men thought this action made things better. Again, these percentages show virtually no change from 1988. The proportion of men who reported to an official actually thought this made things worse remained the same in 1995, while the percentage of women who thought it made things worse increased from 1988 to 1995.

INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

The most frequently reported types of responses for both men and women did not change between 1988 and 1995. Though not in exactly the same rank order, both men and women report they are most likely to ignore the behavior, avoid the person, tell the person to stop, and make a joke of the incident. Obviously, there might be several patterns of responses to the same incident over a period of time. It is clear that in both time periods most men and women employed individual level responses and, in most cases, did not believe individual responses made things better.

Interestingly, the category “I did something else (Specify:)” also ranked among the most frequently used responses for men and women, and this response is the one that has the highest percentages of both males and females reporting that it made things better. The percentages selecting this response increased a little for both men and women. Among men, however, the percent saying it made things better dropped. Both in 1988 and again in 1995 these unidentified mechanisms provided the most effective means of managing a situation in which a formal response may be too costly. Unfortunately, none of the open-ended qualitative data from the survey have been made available; therefore, we are unable to determine the nature of these alternative, but effective responses.⁸

⁸ According to sources in Washington, D.C., the open-ended responses for the 1988 survey “were lost.” Repeated requests for the open-ended responses for the 1995 survey have not been granted.

Conclusion

Our new results are consistent with previous research based solely on the 1988 survey in finding that only a small proportion of individuals experiencing sexual harassment respond through official channels (Firestone and Harris, 1997). Between 1988 and 1995 the Department of Defense “issued new, stronger policies on sexual harassment and began requiring extensive training on the prevention of sexual harassment,” and created the Defense Equal Opportunity Council (DEOC) Task Force on Discrimination and Sexual Harassment. This Task Force was created to review complaint systems and make recommendations for improvements (Bastian, et al., 1996). Despite these efforts, the number of sexual harassment complaints nearly doubled – 604 in 1988 and 1033 in 1995 (Cohen, 1997). The increase in reported incidents of harassment can be viewed in two ways. On the one hand, the initial 1988 survey and policy response may have served to legitimize the reporting of perceived harassment behaviors. On the other hand, the fact that harassment was still pervasive in 1995 in spite of widespread beliefs that commanding officers actively discourage such behaviors, suggests that the policies may not have been very successful, at least in the limited seven year time period (see also, Harris and Firestone, 1997; Grundmann, 1997).

To cope with their harassment experience, both men and women in 1995 were most likely to use individual, informal strategies such as ignoring the behavior, making a joke of the incident, or telling the harasser to stop. Of the responses employed most frequently, ignoring the behavior, or making a joke of it were least likely to be perceived as making the situation better. These findings reinforce other research indicating that most policies designed to reduce sexual harassment in the workplace are often ineffective (Rowe, 1996; Grundman, et al., 1997; Gruber, 1998).

Again, in 1995, few of those in our sample who were harassed reported the behavior to an official; however, among those who did about 53% of the women and 45% of the men thought it made things better. Although still used infrequently this response has among the highest levels of reported effectiveness. Individuals who use official channels may be more familiar with the organizational procedures for dealing with harassment incidents. Additionally, they could be more likely to perceive the organizational climate as actively discouraging sexual harassment. In either circumstance, the small percentages of respondents willing to use official channels seem more likely to find the situations resolved to their satisfaction.

The fact that the most change between 1988 and 1995 occurred with respect to perceptions about commanding officers either actively discouraging or wanting harassment stopped suggests that military leaders have made considerable efforts to stop sexual harassment, and that those efforts have been noticed by service members. This change could mean that commanding officers are attempting to change the male-defined norms, which governed military culture in the past (see Lavite & Stoller, 1993 for a discussion of the effectiveness of this type of process). The fact that very little change has occurred with respect to using official channels for reporting incidents may reflect the fact that official DoD policy focuses on individual behavior and does not address the environmental context that promotes such behaviors (Firestone and Harris, 1994; Rowe, 1996). Indeed, women are still seen as intruding on the strong cohesion among military members deemed

necessary to complete the primary military mission (Harrell and Miller, 1997; Rosen, et al., 1999). Even attempts to deal with the problem outside the formal channels may appear a rejection of the masculine culture of the military.

Furthermore, the continuing large proportion of respondents in 1995 who say they “did something else” may reflect attempts to find mechanisms, which are both effective and less likely than formal responses to hold negative consequences for the individual experiencing the sexual harassment. While the nature of these other responses remains unknown, their prevalence and reported effectiveness clearly suggest a need for further research.

In past research, we called for two types of initiatives to aid in preventing sexual harassment: 1) overt actions, such as strong public statements regarding existing policies and enforcement strategies along with education programs designed to increase understanding, and 2) providing effective options to redress the sexual harassment incidents that continue to occur, such as providing safe reporting channels outside of the normal chain of command and protecting the complainant in her or his usual job assignment (Firestone and Harris, 1997; see also Rowe, 1996). Comparison of results from the 1988 and 1995 surveys suggests that the military may have been more successful in the first initiative than in the second, especially with those reporting harassment.

Recently Lt. General Claudia J. Kennedy, Chief Army intelligence, filed sexual harassment charges against another male Army General (Ricks, 2000). Her case provides recent, high profile support for our conclusions. General Kennedy has stated that she tried to deal with the matter quietly, with an “understanding” that the harasser would not be promoted. At the time this understanding was reached, she felt this individual strategy was an effective response. However, she decided to file formal charges upon his promotion. In the same *Washington Post* article, an unidentified retired Naval Captain reported being continuously harassed by the Admiral who was her commander. She too never reported the behavior because she did not want to “bring down the command” or “damage her prospects for promotion” (Ricks, 2000).

Our findings suggest a widening perceptual gap about whether commanding officers actively discourage harassing behaviors, with those reporting they have experienced harassment less inclined to believe in the efforts of leaders than those who report no harassment. Such negative perceptions by those reporting harassment could erode open communications about incidents, reinforcing a target's propensity to avoid using official reporting channels. The small numbers of those reporting harassment who used official channels to seek help in 1995 suggest the lack of clear understanding about policies and procedures, or a lack of trust in them. In either case, the vicious cycle may continue. The unwillingness of those reporting harassment to use official channels could aggravate enforcement problems because complaints must be filed before policies can be enforced. In turn, if those few who file complaints are disappointed with the results, this could reinforce underreporting of incidences.

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Appendix A: DoD Definition of Sexual Harassment

Before beginning, respondents were asked to read a one-page statement providing information like:

*This survey deals with sexual talk and behavior, which can range from apparently casual remarks (like "Mary (or Joe) looks sexy today") to the serious crimes of sexual assault and rape. Sometimes this sexual talk and behavior is considered sexual harassment and sometimes it is not (sic).

*Certain kinds of UNINVITED and UNWANTED sexual talk and behavior occurring at work can be considered sexual harassment. Examples are:

Actual or attempted rape or sexual assault,

Unwanted, uninvited pressure for sexual favors (Example: Someone tried to talk you into performing a certain sexual act with them or for them, maybe promising a reward).

Unwanted, uninvited touching, leaning over, cornering, pinching, or brushing against of a deliberately sexual nature.

Unwanted, uninvited sexually suggestive looks, gestures, or body language (Example: Someone at work kept staring at your sexual body parts).

Unwanted, uninvited letters, telephone calls, or materials of a sexual nature (Examples: Someone at work called you and said foul things; someone at work brought nude pictures for you to look at; someone sent you letters suggesting that you and the person have sex).

Unwanted, uninvited pressure for dates (Example: A superior kept pressuring you to go out).

Unwanted, uninvited sexual teasing, jokes, remarks, or questions (Examples: Someone told you that you have a nice body; someone asked you how your sex life is; someone told crude jokes to embarrass you; someone jokingly made some comment about how you might perform in bed).

Unwanted, uninvited whistles, calls, hoots, or yells of a sexual nature (Example: One or more persons whistled at you or yelled some sexual things at you from a window or from a car driving past you).

Unwanted, uninvited attempts to get your participation in any other kinds of sexually oriented activities (Examples: Someone tried to get you involved in group sex, or to pose for nude films, or to seduce someone for fun)

***BOTH MEN AND WOMEN CAN BE VICTIMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT; BOTH WOMEN AND MEN CAN BE SEXUAL HARASSERS; PEOPLE CAN SEXUALLY HARASS PERSONS OF THEIR OWN SEX.**

Table 1: Comparison of Harassment by Sex of Respondent and Year of Survey

Percentage reporting “yes” ever harassed during military career

<u>HARASSMENT TYPE</u>	Male		Female		Total	
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>
Ever Harassed	23.0	15.2	77.4	68.2	28.6	21.8
Individual Harassment	14.3	8.9	60.5	51.3	19.0	14.1
Environmental Harassment	18.7	11.8	72.2	59.6	24.2	17.8
Weighted total	18154	24919	2095	3592	20249	25511

Percentage reporting “yes” experiencing harassment in last twelve months

<u>HARASSMENT TYPE</u>	Male		Female		Total	
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1995</u>
Ever Harassed	18.6	11.7	73.3	59.1	24.0	17.2
Individual Harassment	12.4	7.1	54.6	39.3	16.5	11.0
Environmental Harassment	16.4	9.6	66.2	49.4	21.4	14.5
Weighted total	16566	22239	1794	2933	18361	25172

Table 2: Perception of Leadership to Make Honest and Reasonable Efforts to Stop Sexual Harassment in the Active-Duty Military by Harassment Experience***Senior Military Leadership**

	<i>Never</i> 1995/1988	<i>Env. Only</i> 1995/1988	<i>Ind. Only</i> 1995/1988	<i>Both</i> 1995/1988
<u>Males</u>				
Yes	82.5/ 72.9	73.7/ 63.0	78.5/ 74.9	71.5/ 62.3
No opinion	14.4/ 22.8	21.4/ 26.6	15.1/ 16.1	18.7/ 20.1
No	3.1/ 4.3	4.9/ 10.4	6.4/ 9.0	9.8/ 17.6
Total	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0
N	18636 /12503	1165/ 921	500 /251	1690 /1672

Females

Yes	74.9/ 66.0	70.1/ 61.2	76.7/ 54.3	62.9/ 53.1
No opinion	22.4/ 30.6	24.2/ 27.9	18.5/ 33.8	23.8/ 30.8
No	2.7/ 3.4	5.6/ 10.9	4.8/ 11.9	13.3/ 16.1
Total	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0
N	962/ 410	429 / 302	186 / 60	1507 / 854

Immediate Supervisor/Commanding Officer

	<i>Never</i> 1995/1988	<i>Env. Only</i> 1995/1988	<i>Ind. Only</i> 1995/1988	<i>Both</i> 1995/1998
<u>Males</u>				
Yes	74.0/ 69.7	66.8/ 63.9	84.6/ 70.1	64.5/ 53.9
No opinion	19.4/ 22.1	28.9/ 20.6	3.9/ 17.1	18.8/ 18.5
No	6.6/ 8.2	4.3/ 15.5	11.5/ 12.8	16.7/ 27.6
Total	100.0/ 100.0	99.9/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0
N	17059/ 12290	1086 /945	470 /267	1586 /1654

Females

Yes	71.8/ 71.6	64.8/ 64.7	70.0/ 59.6	56.6/ 53.5
No opinion	23.2/ 21.9	18.8/ 18.7	18.1/ 22.8	17.5/ 19.8
No	5.1/ 6.5	16.4/ 16.7	11.9/ 17.6	25.8/ 26.8
Total	100.1/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	100.0/ 100.0	99.9/ 100.0
N	812 /420	363 /308	168 / 61	1368 /884

* 1995 results in bold print.

Table 3: Attitude Toward Sexual Harassment of the Commanding Officer at your Base/Post*

	YEAR	Males					Females				
		Never	Env. Only	Ind. Only	Both	Total	Never	Env. Only	Ind. Only	Both	Total
Actively discourages	1995	54.8	41.6	42.9	40.7	52.7	57.1	46.9	49.9	35.8	44.9
	1988	39.2	30.4	35.8	31.5	37.4	36.9	31.0	33.8	24.4	28.6
Spoken against, wants stopped	1995	23.3	30.7	24.1	22.5	23.7	19.9	24.1	22.4	27.7	24.5
	1988	19.3	25.2	19.3	20.7	19.8	15.1	24.1	18.1	20.9	20.0
Not spoken against, wants stopped	1995	4.0	4.7	8.4	6.1	4.3	2.9	6.9	5.6	5.4	4.8
	1988	5.7	5.8	6.7	5.9	5.8	3.8	6.8	4.3	6.1	5.6
Spoken against, doesn't care	1995	1.6	0.4	2.2	6.0	1.9	1.1	3.6	1.8	6.5	4.1
	1988	1.7	2.1	0.7	5.8	2.2	1.7	3.0	3.7	6.4	4.8
Seems uninformed	1995	0.5	1.1	2.9	1.7	0.7	0.3	1.0	0.5	1.5	1.0
	1988	1.7	1.0	5.8	3.5	1.9	0.4	1.6	0.7	2.4	1.8
Seems to condone	1995	1.4	2.1	5.4	4.1	1.7	1.0	1.2	0.7	1.3	1.1
	1988	1.8	0.7	1.1	2.9	1.9	2.6	1.4	1.7	2.1	2.1
Not spoken against, doesn't care	1995	1.3	3.0	0.6	1.2	1.4	0.8	0.5	3.9	2.9	2.0
	1988	1.1	2.7	3.2	4.9	1.8	1.2	2.1	1.6	4.5	3.3
Seems to encourage	1995	0.1	0.0	--	0.8	0.2	0.0	--	--	0.2	0.1
	1988	0.1	0.2	--	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.4
Attitude unknown/ CO is new	1995	13.1	16.4	13.7	16.8	13.6	16.9	15.7	15.2	18.8	17.5
	1988	29.5	31.7	27.4	24.3	29.0	37.8	29.9	35.8	32.6	33.4

* 1995 results in bold print.

Table 4: Effect of Individual Responses*

	YEAR	Percent Ever Used		Result if Used					
		Male	Female	<u>Worse</u>		<u>No Difference</u>		<u>Better</u>	
				Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ignored behavior	1995	62.6	64.8	11.0	18.6	67.3	67.1	21.8	14.3
	1988	64.8	69.7	11.7	16.2	63.9	66.3	24.4	17.5
Avoided person	1995	48.4	65.1	7.9	12.2	54.2	56.4	37.9	31.4
	1988	50.5	66.2	8.9	10.7	54.7	59.3	36.4	30.0
Told person to stop	1995	50.2	67.4	17.5	10.2	40.7	45.7	41.7	44.1
	1988	48.1	69.3	10.9	11.0	40.6	50.2	48.5	38.8
Threatened/told others	1995	23.7	36.4	18.9	14.8	59.6	44.9	21.5	40.4
	1988	21.5	38.5	12.9	15.6	48.3	45.6	38.8	38.9
Reported to Official	1995	11.7	21.0	20.4	20.6	34.8	26.1	44.8	53.3
	1988	11.4	22.6	21.0	13.8	43.3	35.6	44.7	50.6
Made a joke of it	1995	37.2	24.7	17.1	26.7	53.5	48.2	29.3	25.1
	1988	64.9	47.6	18.9	26.6	56.9	51.4	24.2	22.0
Went along with behavior	1995	24.6	15.4	24.0	37.7	56.3	51.8	19.7	10.5
	1988	27.4	12.4	28.8	36.1	53.1	50.2	18.2	13.9
I transferred, disciplined or gave a poor fitness report to the person(s)	1995	3.9	3.9	14.3	8.2	71.4	30.6	14.2	61.2
	1988	5.6	5.0	18.3	15.1	40.7	26.1	41.0	58.7
Asked other to speak to person	1995	18.6	31.2	9.4	11.9	36.9	36.4	53.7	51.8
	1988	17.8	31.6	20.2	11.5	47.8	35.1	32.1	53.5
Threatened harasser	1995	10.9	9.3	15.5	14.3	26.9	33.5	57.5	52.2
	1988	12.8	9.8	18.9	14.1	28.4	39.3	52.8	46.7
Did something else	1995	27.3	44.6	14.6	7.2	25.9	21.1	59.6	71.6
	1988	24.0	40.0	3.5	7.4	28.5	18.8	68.0	73.8

* 1995 results in bold print.

Bringing the Soldiers Back In: An Argument for the Inclusion of Military Personnel in Labor Market Research

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Abstract

This paper takes issue with the common methodological practice within stratification, mobility, and labor market research of excluding military personnel from populations being analyzed on the basis that such persons represent members of an “institutionalized population,” not subject to the choices and constraints found within the civilian labor market. This practice itself represents an ‘institutionalization’ of another sort; the perpetuation of a norm of research design that has its roots in an era when armed forces personnel were conscripted, but that is no longer realistic in the context of the contemporary all-volunteer military. I propose an alternative to the conceptualization of military personnel as members of an institutionalized population, and argue that, because the military represents the nation’s largest employer of African-American men, the inclusion of service members in labor market research, particularly on racial inequality, helps rather than hinders our understanding of this area of inquiry. Data from the 1990 Census are used to test the hypothesis that individual military service is associated with a reduction in earnings inequality among Black and White men employed full time. Findings indicate that, controlling for key individual characteristics including education and potential work experience, military employment does indeed significantly reduce the “race gap” in earnings between these groups of workers. This finding supports the notion that the military remains an avenue of opportunity for African-American workers relative to Whites, and suggests that by excluding military personnel from research designs, labor market sociologists may be neglecting a factor that bears on our understanding of racial inequality.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Bringing the Soldiers Back In: An Argument for the Inclusion of Military Personnel in Labor Market Research

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Introduction

From the middle of the twentieth century until the present, the United States military has had a fundamental impact upon the American labor market.¹ The relationship between these two institutions has been multi-dimensional in character, ranging from the effects of the post-World War II G.I. Bill upon the educational attainment of World War II veterans (Cohen et al., 1995), the routinization of high-levels of military spending that created and continue to sustain the modern military-industrial complex—the chief actors of which employ millions of civilians in government agencies and in the private sector (Ettinger and Crump 1989; American Forces Information Services 2000)—, and the re-establishment in 1973 of an All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in which the nation's armed services compete directly with civilian employers for entry-level personnel. Though hardly exhaustive, these examples illustrate the ongoing ties between the military and the U.S. labor market.

Though the U.S. Armed Services -- the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps -- currently employ about 1.4 million active-duty personnel, the influence of these individuals, and the impact of the Services themselves as large regional employers, upon the conceptualization and measurement of stratification and inequality in the labor market is rarely recognized or articulated in sociological literature. One fundamental reason for this has been the systematic exclusion from or under representation of military personnel from sociological research in these and other areas of sociological inquiry. Such exclusion or under representation usually results either from the decision of investigators to explicitly remove armed forces personnel from the data to be analyzed (e.g., Cohen 1998; McCall 1999; Smith 1999), or the decision to use data that either exclude service members *a priori* from the universe of labor force participants or that under represent them in the sampling frame (e.g., Baldi and McBrier, 1997; Kalleberg et al., 2000; Rytina 2000; Elliott 2000). However, whether exclusion (or under presentation) results from the choice to explicitly remove military members from a sample, or the choice to employ a dataset that includes information only about civilians is less important than the fact that

¹ Until the Second World War, American military forces raised during wartime were rapidly demobilized after conflict, limiting the impact of the military on labor market dynamics during peacetime (Segal 1989).

both methodological practices reflect a widely held, perhaps dominant, set of conceptual assumptions regarding the relationship of military service members to the labor market.

Many of the more commonly used large-scale, “nationally representative” databases exclude or under represent armed forces personnel, despite the facts that the military is the nation’s largest employer and that service personnel represent a 1.4 million member population of wage earners who are all employed full-time. These data include the Current Population Survey (CPS), which defines armed forces personnel as “not in the labor force” (Reich and Abraham, 1994; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994), the General Social Survey (GSS), which under represents armed forces by excluding anyone housed in group quarters (National Opinion Research Center 1997), the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), the initial wave of which excluded those not living in typical household arrangements and which also does not generally attempt to track those who join the armed forces in their first two to four years of service (Panel Study of Income Dynamics, personal correspondence), and the National Organizations Study (NOS), which matches a subsample of individuals interviewed in the GSS with their employers, but includes no military personnel ² (Kalleberg et al. 1994).

Though the military is the country’s largest employer, there are often legitimate reasons for the exclusion of military personnel from labor market research. Sometimes, for example, researchers choose to confine their investigations to particular occupational categories, in which case, many workers besides those employed by the Armed Services are not represented (e.g., Jacobs and Blair-Loy 1996). Moreover, some sociologists have included military workers in their research, so the norm of exclusion is not universal (e.g., Sakamoto 1988; Haynie and Gorman 1999). But more often, sociological analyses of inequality in the labor market exclude armed forces employees a priori, because researchers consider them members of a special category of “institutionalized persons”, not subject to the constraints or choices of the civilian labor market.

It is primarily this perception—the notion of the military as an institutionalized and separate community outside the boundaries of the U.S. labor force—with which this paper takes issue. Simply put, I argue that it is not the employees in America’s military Services that are “institutionalized,” but rather their treatment within dominant sociological conceptions of the labor market. By this I refer, of course, to the sociological definition of “institutionalized”, meaning a taken-for-granted, self-perpetuating pattern of social activity and definition. In this paper, I take the position that

² Written and oral correspondence with several social scientists, administrators, and staff members responsible for some of the large-scale data collection efforts mentioned here provided valuable insight and supplemental information to the technical documentation commonly available with the data files. Because participation in both the GSS and the PSID depend on being a member of a household, the under-representation of service members in these datasets result not from systematic exclusion, but from the “institutionalized persons” label applied to those entering the armed forces and those military members housed in group quarters. That being said, deletion of observations representing military members who do end up in these samples is common methodological practice. In contrast, though the CPS gathers supplemental data from service personnel, they are not asked the same questions as civilian workers and are defined as non-labor force participants from the outset.

our discipline has continued to exclude armed forces personnel from research on inequality, labor market, and stratification processes past the time where such exclusion is necessary, or even desirable.

The aims of this paper are two-fold. First, I propose a conceptual alternative to the dominant view that treats military personnel as members of an institutionalized community— an alternative rooted conceptually in the similarities that employment in the contemporary military shares with more “mainstream” civilian industries and occupations. Secondly, I provide empirical evidence using data from the 1990 Census to support the position that, particularly in the study of racial inequality, inclusion of military personnel, and a concomitant recognition of the relationship between the American military and the African-American community, helps rather than hinders our understanding of this area of inquiry.

Labor Force Participants in Military Industry: An Alternative to the “Institutionalized Persons” Label

Many publicly available large-scale data sources exclude military members from the universe of labor force participants, including, before 1980, the U.S. Census.³ A range of circumstances has justified their exclusion from many data collection efforts. The foremost has been that from 1940 until 1973, many service members were conscripts or draft-motivated volunteers, performing in military occupations more or less involuntarily. Unlike the contemporary AVF, conscription is coercive by its nature, and its efficacy as a method to raise an armed force does not necessarily depend on the provision of a fair market wage.⁴ Personnel serving from World War II to the early 1970s were not, in fact, paid wages competitive with jobs in the civilian sector. These circumstances aptly explain the early characterization of military personnel as members of an institutionalized population, to be excluded from status attainment research along with other institutionalized groups such as prison inmates or those hospitalized for mental illness.⁵

Other justifications for exclusion include the fact that, while in the service, many armed forces personnel are concentrated on large, frequently remote installations, living together in group quarters or on military vessels. Additionally, the frequent change of residence experienced by nearly all military personnel has contributed to their definition as non-labor force participants, since, unlike civilian workers, they rarely remain part of a

³ A further example of the role that prevailing definitions and stereotypes play in influencing Census bureau data collection with respect to the military is the fact that, prior to 1980, the Census did not ask women if they had ever served in the armed forces. This was true despite the fact that 350,000 female volunteers were inducted into the armed forces during World War II (Holm 1982).

⁴ A case could be made that militaries have always obtained their labor by coercive means, if not through citizen conscription, then through the employment of volunteers who had little opportunity for gainful employment outside military service. The latter case has referred to as economic or industrial conscription, and represents an important historical link between labor markets and military institutions.

⁵ At the risk of drawing a distasteful parallel between three highly diverse populations, military personnel, college students, and prison inmates today make up the bulk of the “institutionalized population” (outside of the elderly and disabled) conceptualized as not in the labor force. Though only service members are considered here, it is not clear that categorizing either college students or prisoners as “not in the labor force” does justice to reality, since substantial proportions of each population actively work for wages.

local community for very long and generally do not compete with civilians for local employment opportunities. It is neither surprising nor unreasonable, then, that influential studies of work, occupations, and markets carried out in the 1960s and 1970s dealt with these issues, particularly in the case of conscription, by omitting members of the military profession.

However, the continuation of this well-institutionalized practice in contemporary stratification research deserves scrutiny, since many of the circumstances that led to the exclusion of military personnel from data collection and analysis have changed significantly. The relatively uncritical exclusion of armed forces personnel from contemporary sociological research represents, I believe, a kind of “psychology of conscription,” to borrow a phrase coined by former Navy Secretary Richard Danzig (1999). In the past few decades, characteristics of military service have changed to a degree that justifies the consideration of members of the military profession as labor force participants rather than as institutionalized persons. Some of these characteristics are described below.

First, as mentioned above, from 1973 to the present, service in the U.S. military has been voluntary. This means that the contemporary military competes directly with civilian firms for entry-level personnel, and that those personnel who are successfully recruited have made a conscious decision to forgo whatever opportunities they may have had at the time in the civilian labor force in order to join one of the armed services. The significance of the AVF with respect to issues of racial inequality in the labor market is that the historic disadvantages and discrimination experienced by African-Americans in the civilian labor force have led to their disproportionate representation in the armed forces, particularly in the U.S. Army, where Blacks comprise over one quarter of an organization employing over 470,000 people (American Forces Information Services 2000). And though women are underrepresented in the military generally due to both cultural definitions of appropriate gender roles and by structural barriers fostered and maintained in military organizations, the component of women in the American military is also disproportionately African-American; over half the women in the U.S. Army are Black.

That the employment of so many African-Americans in military jobs speaks to their relative marginalization in the civilian labor market is without question. Indeed, the military is often characterized as an avenue of opportunity for African-Americans because traditional racial stratification mechanisms, while still present in the armed forces, are neither as extreme nor as prevalent as in the civilian sector (Moore and Webb 1998; Moskos and Butler 1996). For example, though most Black service members serve in the lower paying enlisted ranks, relative to the civilian labor market; the armed forces provide African-Americans greater representation in upper-level management positions, positions that allow for a greater exercise of authority and decision-making power.⁶

⁶ For example, the percent of officers in the United States Army who are African-American, while still disproportionate to their representation in the organization as a whole, is currently around 11 percent. The officer corps in the military is essentially equivalent to management in the civilian sector, and it is unlikely

Nevertheless, these circumstances in and of themselves are not a valid rationale for the exclusion of military members from inequality research. On the contrary, studies that analyze racial differences in earnings, status attainment, and opportunity, and that restrict military members from their research design are excluding the nation's largest employer of African-American men (the active-duty military), a set of four employing organizations with hundreds of thousands of full-time workers whose demographics are disproportionately minority in makeup, and a percentage of the nation's full-time, year round African American male employees large enough to warrant their representation for the sake of scientific objectivity alone.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, given that contemporary sociologists have focused increasingly on the structural determinants of inequality like the impact of local minority concentration, the "gendered" nature of occupations, and the influence of the local opportunity structure on earnings, the exclusion of military personnel from samples and research designs is essentially equivalent to ignoring an entire industry. The conceptualization of the military as an industry is warranted both based on size and its substantial regional concentration. In size, the armed forces employ nearly twice as many persons as both the 750,000 member United Auto Workers union (United Auto Workers 2000) and the nation's largest civilian employer, the U.S. Postal Service, which employs roughly 797,000 career workers (U.S. Postal Service 2000). The armed forces are, in fact, comparable in size to several industries. Roughly as many persons as employed by the military find work in the printing and publishing industry (1.56 million), metal fabrication (1.5 million), and broadcast and telephone communications (1.47 million; Bureau of Labor Statistics 1999).

Additionally, similar to traditional industries like steel production, mining, or automobile manufacturing, employees of the armed forces are distinctly concentrated by region. While the active-duty military does not have a major presence in most of the nation's local labor markets, in some American locales, the presence of a military installation and its accompanying personnel represent the dominant economic feature in the community, recalling for some the image of the early twentieth century company town (Martin and Orthner, 1989).⁷ Killeen, Texas, Virginia Beach, Virginia, and Jacksonville, North Carolina, for example, all represent local labor markets in which over 15 percent of all employed persons are in the active-duty armed forces (Booth et al. 2000). The dense concentration of service members in labor market areas like these contrasts sharply with the near absence of military workers in the majority of American communities, an additional fact that contributes to the invisibility of the military in inequality and stratification research. A recent analysis of the distribution of military workers across U.S. labor markets demonstrates that military presence is heavily skewed by a group of roughly 30 labor market areas in which the armed services clearly play a disproportionate role in the local economy (Booth et al. 2000).

that any current Fortune 500 corporation can boast this degree of African-American representation in management positions.

⁷ It is important to note that this paper stresses the influence of those on *active-duty* military service, and does not directly consider the substantial impact that DoD spending has on private sector employment.

Thus, macro-level research that excludes service members from the research design, but that analyze data aggregated from areas like Killeen, Virginia Beach, Jacksonville, and other metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) with a large military presence, by definition exclude the majority of persons that work for the largest employing organizations in these regions. What is more, the presence of the military within these MSAs affects these locales in a myriad of ways that are of sociological importance. For example, Farley and Frey's (1993) work on geographic racial segregation reveals that a ranking of America's least segregated communities "is dominated by metropolitan areas whose economic bases involved the Armed Forces" (Farley and Frey 1993: 32), and research by Booth et al. (2000) highlights the negative relationship between local military presence and women's employment rates.

Finally, one of the more common themes stressed within military sociology has been that, while corporate firms and civilian administration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries successfully adapted an organizational form for which the Prussian army was the prototype (Weber 1947) — namely, bureaucracy— in recent decades, it has been the military that has taken on characteristics common to civilian occupations. The shift from an "institutional" to an "occupational" military (Moskos and Wood 1988), reflecting the end of conscription in 1973 and accelerated in recent years by the end of the Cold War, is illustrated by the fact that more and more service members are in fact not living in group quarters on installations but in civilian neighborhoods, taking on second jobs in the civilian sector to make ends meet, and increasingly entering the service in order to acquire educational benefits and skills that can be readily translated to the civilian sphere. In a contemporary context, the soldier as "institutionalized person" represents, for the most part, a label misapplied.

Data and Methods

The remainder of this paper is devoted to an empirical demonstration of the utility of including armed forces personnel in research on racial stratification and inequality in the labor market. The data for these analyses come from the 1990 Public Use Micro Sample of Labor Market Areas (PUMS-L), a nationally representative 45 percent subsample of the 1990 Census (which contains detailed information on both military and civilian employees), stratified by Labor Market Area (LMA). These 394 geographically exclusive LMAs have been constructed by researchers at the Louisiana Population Data Center using a journey-to-work algorithm, and encompass the whole geography of the United States (Tolbert, et al. 1995). The PUMS-L was constructed to provide rural sociologists with a database that would make available information about the labor markets of both rural and urban residents of the United States. While the latter represent a statistical minority, rural areas are still home to approximately a quarter of America's population, and account for over three-quarters of its land mass (Singlemann and Deseran 1993). Representation of more remote LMAs is a crucial element in assessing the role of the military in the labor market, as many military bases are found in distinctly non-metropolitan locations (Evinger 1995). To insure confidentiality of records however, respondents within less densely populated LMAs were over sampled for the PUMS-L. To compensate for the overrepresentation of respondents from non-metropolitan labor

market areas, all data and analyses presented in this paper reflect the use of sample weights based on U.S. population totals from the 1990 Census (Tolbert et al. 1995).

Because the military is composed predominantly of men, I have limited the analyses below to the male segment of the labor force who are African American or White, and who were employed full-time (at least 35 hours per week) in 1989.⁸ Additional constraints on the sample included the following: each respondent must have reported non-negative earnings in 1989, at least one year of schooling, and have a non-missing value on the Census variable R-LABOR. R-LABOR is an employment-status variable in the 1990 Census identifying a labor force participant as either in the civilian labor force, on active-duty military service, or unemployed (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992).

The number of male respondents meeting these criteria resulted in a total sample size of 239,243. The hypothesis tested in this paper can be expressed as follows: controlling for the effects of education, potential work experience, and other key independent variables common to the literature on earnings inequality, employment in the active-duty military will have an ameliorating effect on earnings inequality between Black and White male workers.

I base this expectation on the argument, articulated above, that the military has historically represented, and for many still remains, an avenue of socioeconomic opportunity for African-American men. This is particularly true in relative terms; that is, military service is much more likely to represent an economic disadvantage for White men than Black men, since, as a distinct demographic group, the former enjoy the highest average earnings in the civilian labor force. In short, employment in the military should have an “equalizing” effect on the racial earnings gap for those in uniform. Such a finding would represent strong evidence for the inclusion of armed forces personnel in labor market research, since it would imply that our dominant research models are excluding a population with distinctly non-random characteristics, thus perhaps overestimating racial earnings inequality among male wage earners.

Below I present descriptive differences in mean and median earnings among Black and White men in both civilian and military sectors, and for three distinct categories of educational attainment—those with high school degrees, those with some college experience, and those with a four-year college degree. Finally, I estimate the effect of military service on the race gap in men’s earnings using ordinary least squares regression. The dependent variable in the regression model is the natural log of Total

⁸ There is, of course, a certain irony in placing such limitations on a sample that is being used to make an argument against exclusion. However, the military remains a male-dominated employer, and one in which a specific set of formally prescribed and enforced norms regarding race relations have helped reduce many racial barriers to advancement relative to the civilian sector (Moskos and Butler 1996). Though many minority military personnel disagree that equal opportunity is any better for those in uniform (Scarville et al. 1999), at this early stage, the appropriate population from which to estimate such a difference is the one delineated by these restrictions. Additionally, because those in the military are all employed full time, an exclusive focus on full time workers should insure that any potential effects of military service on earnings will not be the result of earnings differences between those employed full and part time.

Person Earnings, defined as the “algebraic sum of wage and salary income and net income from farm and non-farm self-employment” (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992: B-16) for 1989. It is a continuous variable ranging from negative \$19,996 to \$284,000. Those with earnings above \$284,000 are assigned their state’s median income for those with earnings above this top code.

The independent variables included in the model represent a set of measures common to the literature on labor markets, inequality and status attainment. These include a dichotomous variable for race (BLACK = 1; White = 0), continuous measures of years of school completed (YEARS OF EDUCATION), potential work experience (EXPERIENCE; operationalized as age – years of education – 6), and its square (EXPERIENCE SQUARED), included to account for diminishing returns to age. Also included are a dummy variable for marital status (MARRIED = 1; never married, widower, divorced, or separated = 0), because marriage has been shown to represent an earnings premium for men (Kilbourne et al.1994), a dummy variable for labor market area population size (METROPOLITAN LMA = 1, non-metropolitan LMA = 0), as employment and earnings opportunities tend to be better in areas with greater population density, and a set of dichotomous variables intended to capture some of the economic differences between regions (SOUTH, MIDWEST, WEST, NORTHEAST excluded).

Finally, the key independent variables of interest in the model are the dummy variable representing military service (MILITARY = 1, civilian = 0), which is expected to be associated with an earnings penalty, since military pay for most jobs is lower than that found in the civilian sector,⁹ and an interaction term (BLACK*MILITARY) which is the product of the values for race and military service and which is set to zero for civilians and for White servicemen. The coefficient associated with this interaction term should represent the earnings penalty or premium associated with being both Black and in the armed forces, after the effects of all other variables in the model are controlled for. Provided the model’s other independent variables are statistically significant, a significant positive coefficient for the interaction term would represent evidence for the paper’s hypothesis that military service affects Blacks differently than Whites, reducing the magnitude of the race penalty when key human capital and demographic factors are accounted for.

⁹ Two points are worth noting here: First, while those military occupational specialties (MOS) that can also be found in the civilian sector nearly always pay less (e.g., pilots, physicians, etc.) some specialties, like infantryman, have no civilian equivalent. Second, the earnings statistics provided for service members in the Census do not include the military housing allowance provided for those personnel and their families living in civilian neighborhoods, nor do Census data reflect the fact that those service members not provided a housing allowance are provided with military housing instead. This is a fundamental difference between the modes of compensation in military and civilian spheres, and cannot be adequately addressed with Census data. The option exists to “factor in” a mean figure that would represent, in dollars, the average housing benefit provided to service members, thus lifting the average earnings of service members relative to their civilian counterparts. Unfortunately, such a technique would be biased by the fact that non-cash compensation is also common in the civilian sector (stock options, etc.) and is not reflected in Census earnings data. Thus at this stage, the choice has been made to examine reported earnings alone.

Results

Table 1 provides annual mean and median earnings by race and civilian/military employment status for those men in the 1990 PUMS-L who worked full-time (at least 35 hours per week) in 1989. Table 1 makes apparent the substantial race gap in median and mean men's earnings, and additionally, makes clear that the gap persists whether or not military personnel are included in the sample. But while Black civilian men's median earnings represent only 69 percent of the annual median earnings of their White civilian counterparts, earnings differences in the subgroup of military personnel, who account for about five percent of the African-American men employed full-time in the PUMS-L, diminishes sharply. Within this subgroup of active-duty service members, African-Americans have median earnings equivalent to about 88 percent of their White male counterparts. Thus, the race gap in earnings appears to be substantially less among the military workers in the sample than in the civilian component.

Those race differences that do remain in the military sample are likely due to the overrepresentation of African Americans in the enlisted ranks versus the officer corps, with its higher pay and status. Though Census data do not allow for a direct test of this, the under representation of Blacks in officer positions compared with their overall rates of participation in the armed forces remains the most salient and visible manifestation of racial stratification in the military (Butler 1996).

Table 1: Average annual earnings for White and African-American men employed full-time in 1989, by employment status

	<u>Civilians and armed forces</u>		<u>Civilians only</u>		<u>Armed forces only</u>	
	White	African American	White	African American	White	African American
Mean	\$32,287	\$21,441	\$32,551	\$21,669	\$20,416	\$16,640
Median	\$24,000	\$16,000	\$24,000	\$16,600	\$16,000	\$14,000
s.d.	\$27,489	\$16,131	\$27,661	\$16,358	\$13,580	\$8,962
N	222,509	16,734	218,217	15,841	4,292	893

Table 1 also reveals that the much smaller race gap in earnings for workers in the military has no substantive effect on earnings differences by race when both employment sectors are combined: for the pooled sample, median earnings of African American workers are estimated at 67 percent of White men's earnings. That we see relatively little change in the race gap in median men's earnings when military members are included in the sample is not difficult to explain when we consider the demography of military

service. For White male workers with at least a high school education, the military represents a relatively low paying occupation (See Table 2) that attracts a much smaller proportion of young White men within any given cohort than it does African American men. Thus, the absolute numbers of White civilians in the sample (222,509), who are among the most advantaged in the labor market and on average the highest paid, overwhelm and mask the relative earnings equity found between the races in the armed forces.

However, Table 1 does not control for the influence of other key variables, like education and work experience. To hold constant such differences is critical because the military represents a relatively young population, most of whom do not have a college degree. Particularly among young African-Americans, these features characterize a segment of the labor force that is especially vulnerable to occupational segregation in low paying, low benefit, secondary sector employment (Jacobs and Blair-Loy 1996). Table 2 below provides descriptive differences in median earnings by race and sector between those men in the sample who reported their highest education attainment as a high school degree, some college experience, or a bachelor's degree. The first and last of these three categories of educational attainment correspond to the qualifications necessary to begin a career in the armed forces in the enlisted ranks or the officer corps,¹⁰ respectively.

Table 2: 1989 median annual earnings of White and African American men employed full-time: by employment sector, race, and education level

Education level	Civilian		Military	
	White	African American	White	African American
H.S. degree only	\$21,000 (n= 76,343)	\$15,500 (n= 5,522)	\$12,000 (n= 1,629)	\$12,498 (n= 454)
Some College	\$25,000 (n= 58,638)	\$20,000 (n= 3,855)	\$16,217 (n= 1,718)	\$15,794 (n= 352)
Bachelor's degree	\$33,000 (n=30,207)	\$26,000 (n=1,180)	\$28,488 (n= 566)	\$24,001 (n = 49)

Table 2 demonstrates that, among those service-members who had completed high school but not gone on to college, there is no meaningful race-gap in earnings in the traditional sense— in fact, the median earnings of African American servicemen with only a high school degree is actually \$498 higher than their White counterparts with the

¹⁰ Men in the sample reporting lesser or greater educational attainment than is represented by these three categories (e.g., those with less than a high school degree and those with graduate school experience or advanced degrees) are omitted from Table 2 in order to provide a fair comparison between military and civilian sectors controlling for educational attainment. These three categories account for 92 percent of the military respondents in the sample.

same education.¹¹ In contrast, African American men in the civilian labor market who reported their highest educational attainment as a high school degree have median annual earnings that represent only 74 percent of the median annual earnings of White men with comparable education. Similarly, when race-specific median earnings within the other two categories of educational attainment are compared across civilian and military sectors, the pattern of reduced racial inequality in earnings within the armed forces remains. African American men in the military who have some college experience earn an average of 97 percent of what their White counterparts do, while the comparable figure in the civilian component of the sample is 80 percent. Among college graduates, Black male civilians working full-time earn 79 percent of their White civilian counterparts, while Black servicemen with a college education earn 84 percent of White servicemen with similar educational attainment.

To estimate the effect of military service on the race gap in earnings net of education, potential experience, marital status, region, and labor market size, the natural log of individual earnings was regressed on the series of independent variables discussed above. Table 3 below presents the results of the individual earnings model for men.

All the variables included in the model presented in Table 3 reach standard significance levels, including the dichotomous measure representing service in the armed forces, and the interaction term between race and military service. I have chosen to present unstandardized coefficients in Table 3 to insure that the intercept reflects a true value of zero with respect to the dichotomous variables in the model. Therefore, in order to place the coefficients provided in Table 3 in a meaningful context, a series of point estimates for Black and White workers in both sectors is provided in Table 4. These point estimates were calculated by using the antilog function, and reflect the following assumptions regarding the continuous measures: Years of Education = 13 (the sample

Table 3: men's annual earnings (log) regressed on selected variables (unstandardized coefficients)*

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	T for H0: Parameter=0	Prob > T
INTERCEPT	7.61	0.0117	--	--
YRS OF EDUCATION	0.106	0.0006	152.59	0.0001
POTENTIAL EXPERIENCE	0.062	0.0005	120.96	0.0001

¹¹ Mean earnings are not reported in Table 2 for aesthetic reasons, but among those with only high-school degrees in the Armed Forces, mean earnings for Whites were \$14,070 and for Blacks \$13,512. This suggests that earnings are more positively skewed for White service members whose highest educational attainment was a high school degree than for their Black counterparts. The higher median earnings figure reported here for Black Servicemen may be a function of the greater likelihood of Blacks to reenlist in the Armed Forces and make the military a career.

POTENTIAL EXPERIENCE	0.062	0.0005	120.96	0.0001
EXPERIENCE SQUARED	-0.001	0.0000	-98.32	0.0001
BLACK	-0.23	0.006	-38.23	0.0001
MARRIED	0.30	0.004	76.61	0.0001
MILITARY	-0.10	0.012	-8.18	0.0001
BLACK* MILITARY	0.16	0.029	5.54	0.0001
METRO	0.232	0.006	38.43	0.0001
SOUTH	-0.156	0.0047	-32.94	0.0001
MIDWEST	-0.10	0.0051	-19.85	0.0001
WEST	-0.082	0.0053	-15.41	0.0001
$r^2 = .25$ Adjusted $r^2 = .25$				

*29 respondents had non-positive weights and were dropped from the analysis

mean; see Appendix), Potential Work Experience = 12 (the sample mean of 20 is not employed here because few remain in military service for such a length of time), and Work Experience Squared = 144. The point estimates also reflect inclusion of the predicted effects associated with residence in a metropolitan labor market area (METRO = 1), marriage, rather than single status (MARRIED = 1), and residence in a southern LMA (SOUTH = 1), as most military bases are concentrated in the South. The individual cells in Table 4 determine the values of the remaining four dummy variables.

Table 4: Point estimates for male African American and White workers: by civilian/military status (with individual and regional controls)¹²

	<i>Civilian Employment</i>	<i>Military Employment</i>
White workers	\$19,653	\$17,783
African American workers	\$15,615	\$16,581

¹² Point estimates are derived from the coefficients reported in Table 4 and reflect the use of the antilog function. Assumed values are: Years of education = 13, Potential work experience = 12, Experience squared = 144, Marital Status, Metropolitan LMA, and South = 1. The cells in Table 4 define remaining dichotomous variables.

As expected, the variable estimating the effect of race is negative and significant, suggesting that Black men experience an earnings penalty even when human capital measures are held constant. Black men not in military service, with values for education, work experience, and other variables defined by the criteria above, pay an estimated penalty of \$4,038 annually; earning about 79 percent of the \$19,653 estimated for their White counterparts not in the service.

The other control measures, including education, work experience and its square, region, marital status, and metropolitan area status are significant and in directions consistent with previous research on inequality in the labor market. Increasing values on each of these measures are associated with higher annual log earnings, except for the square of potential experience, the coefficient of which is negative, reflecting the non-linear effect of increasing work experience on earnings. As would be expected from the descriptive data presented in Table 1 and Table 2, military service itself is associated with a substantial earnings penalty, other things equal. The point estimate for White men in the military service is \$17,783, or 90 percent of the estimate of \$19,653 for White civilian men.

This paper's hypothesis is supported by the positive and significant coefficient on the interaction term, BLACK*MILITARY. The most logical interpretation of this positive coefficient is that Black men in military service, when key individual characteristics are held constant, experience a reduction in the earnings penalty generally associated with being African American. Military service impacts Black men as a distinct demographic group differently than it does for White men, significantly reducing the inequality in earnings experienced by African Americans when their background characteristics are similar to Whites. The point estimate for the average earnings for African Americans in the military, calculated by adjusting for values of 1 on MILITARY, BLACK, and the interaction term, is \$16,581— 84 percent of the average earnings of White men not in the military, and 93 percent of Whites who are in the military.

These estimates must be tempered by the knowledge that the military represents a much younger population with significantly less work experience than what is found on average in the civilian sector, and that significant differences exist in the human capital between Blacks and Whites, as well as the relative opportunities available to members of each group. These differences are of course masked when years of education and other characteristics are assumed similar for both races. Still, it seems clear that military service does indeed represent an avenue of opportunity for Black men relative to Whites, if only by providing a higher than average return to the human capital African American men do possess— circumstances that would seem to warrant the inclusion of military personnel in labor market research.

Conclusion

This paper has reconsidered the relatively common methodological practice of excluding active-duty military personnel from labor market research by estimating the effect of military employment on racial inequalities in earnings among Black and White

men employed full-time in the U.S. labor market. Departing from normative methodological practice in sociology, I have taken the somewhat novel step of considering military service members as part of the labor force, a premise based on the voluntary nature of contemporary military employment as well as other similarities the armed forces share with civilian occupations and industries. Because the armed forces employ African-American men at over one and a half times their proportional representation in the U.S. population, it is argued that the inclusion of military personnel is essential for sociologists to accurately describe the degree of economic inequality between these two segments of the labor force, and to assess more comprehensively the factors that influence the socioeconomic attainment of African-American men.

Specifically, it was found that, among White and Black men employed full-time, earnings inequality is substantially lower in the military than in the civilian labor market, and that the ameliorating effect of military service on the race gap in annual earnings persists even when other important demographic and human capital variables are statistically controlled through multivariate regression. Additionally, military service was found to be associated with a reduction of about 24 percent in the race gap in annual earnings between African Americans and White civilians, other things equal. And while other things are not, of course, equal—for instance, Blacks have lower average educational attainment than Whites, and lower returns to the human capital they possess—the models presented here do much to demonstrate that military service affects Black and White men differently, and thus reinforces the contention that military personnel should be represented in research on inequality in the labor market. It is quite possible that, by excluding this group of workers, social scientists will risk over-estimating the degree of actual inequality between White and Black men in the labor market.

This paper has also offered evidence to support the contention that the characterization of military personnel as institutionalized persons to be excluded from stratification research does little to help advance the study of racial inequality, and that the “institutionalized persons” label is no longer conceptually accurate in the context of an all-volunteer military competing directly with civilian employers. By intentionally or unintentionally excluding soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines from our research, we deny a voice to the hundreds of thousands of African-Americans who have chosen to serve in the armed forces, mask the effects that military service has on racial inequality, and risk an incomplete description of a number of sociological processes that our discipline considers vitally important.

Appendix

Table 5: Weighted means and standard deviations of variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev
EARNINGS	31245.47	26800.44
EARNINGS(LOG)	10.03	.96
BLACK	.096	.29
POTENTIAL WORK EXPERIENCE	20.37	12.25
POTENTIAL EXPERIENCE SQR.	565.16	619.09
YEARS OF EDUCUCATION	13.28	2.84
MARRIED	.67	.50
METRO	.91	.28
SOUTH	.35	.48
MIDWEST	.24	.43
NORTHEAST	.15	.36
WEST	.20	.40
MILITARY	.02	.15
BLACK*MILITARY	.004	.06

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**Being All We Can Be?
A Study of Earnings Differentials Within the U.S. Army¹**

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Abstract

In this paper, various models were used to test differences in yearly logged basic pay of enlisted personnel in the U.S. Army who were serving as of August 1999. Findings were that on average, women earn less basic pay than men after controlling for both human capital and demographic variables. This effect, although significant, is not great. African Americans and members of other races² earn more than Whites, but Asians and Hispanics earn less. Naturalized soldiers experience greater returns in basic pay than do soldiers of all other types of citizenship statuses. Human capital models provide less explanatory power than do models that integrate demographic and social variables, in addition to human capital variables. Finally, gender interaction effects are confined to being married, that is, for men there is a significantly greater premium for being married than there is for women.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

¹ This paper was prepared for the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) Equal Opportunity/Equal Employment Opportunity Research Symposium held at Cocoa Beach, Florida on December 5-7, 2001. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies.

² Members of other races include Native Americans, Aleutian Islanders, and people not listed elsewhere.

**Being All We Can Be?
A Study of Earnings Differentials Within the U.S. Army³**

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The main purpose of this study is to test how well individual level and labor market characteristics explain basic pay differences by race, gender, and citizenship within a bureaucratic labor market (BLM), after controlling for human capital. An additional focus is whether models that incorporate interaction effects of human capital and gender enrich traditional human capital explanations of basic pay differences. The bureaucracy studied in this paper is the United States Army.

Analyses of civilian pay differences are numerous and interdisciplinary, while studies focusing on differentials in earnings in the military are, to this author's knowledge, limited to two other studies (see Lanigan (1988) and Kilburn, Louie, and Goldman (2001)). Therefore, one of the objectives of this paper is to provide a more detailed and theoretically based analysis of basic pay, derived from both civilian and military sector studies.

Most civilian sector studies of differences in earnings focus on what are termed traditional human capital explanations, such as differing education, training, and a set of control variables (e.g. race, gender, age). More sociologically informed research adds structural features that influence outcomes such as sex/race composition of occupations and characteristics inherent to the institution or area in which an individual works. Military sector analyses deal with differential outcomes of admissions, assignments into various occupations, and promotions of minorities and females in both the United States Army and in the military in general (Cheatham and Seem 1990; Moore 1991; Firestone 1992; Kirby and Thie 1996; GAO 1992 (96-17), 1998 (98-157), 2000 (00-110)). These studies compare women and various minority groups to White males, who compose the bulk of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in the U.S. Army. None of these studies analyze differences in earnings by race, gender, and citizenship.

Conclusions from civilian sector studies of differential outcomes are not directly translatable to the military because the military has many qualities of a total institution. As an example, the largest component of compensation in the military is basic pay and is entirely determined by rank and seniority. In the civilian sector, a multitude of factors influence differences in basic pay, in addition to seniority and rank. The RAND paper by Kilburn, Louie, and Goldman (2001), provides no theoretical framework and fails to include certain basic human

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capital and sociological variables. Independent variables used in their analysis included race, gender, occupation, entrance cohorts, and seniority.

Labor market outcomes in public sector bureaucracies, such as the Army, are more greatly influenced by human capital and status-attainment variables than is the case in other types of labor markets (Grandjean 1981:1061). This is because the nature of the BLM places a premium on objective criteria (Weber 1946: 200-201; Granovetter 1985:482). These criteria are usually education, training, and performance on ability tests (Weber 1946:240; Moskos and Butler 1996). Citing a number of studies, Gilroy (1990:342), wrote that the likelihood of enlisting in the Army is greater for individuals possessing less human capital. By enlisting, applicants can expect to receive better basic pay, job security, and other benefits that they would not normally receive in the civilian labor market, given their level of human capital.

Some studies show that bureaucracies in the public sector are less likely to support gender and race discrimination and inclined to provide more equitable opportunities than in the private sector (Smith 1974a, 1974b; Markham et al., 1985; Diprete 1987; Baron et al., 1991; Reskin 1993:255; Boyd 1993, 1994; Green and Rogers 1994). Using a 1979 sample of youths from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS), Lanigan (1988) found that there were no significant racial/ethnic differences in pay for youth in the military. Moskos and Butler (1996:xii) argue that service in the Army gives women and minorities an unparalleled opportunity because of strong policies of equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work. This is challenged though, by racial gaps in the scores of military tests of cognitive ability. Differences in scores have implications for African Americans and Whites, who tend to be allocated to different military occupations, with a disproportionate number of African Americans in service and support jobs-those occupations with the least prestige.

Bureaucratic labor markets tend to promote from within the firm and seniority is often the main criteria for promotion. According to Caplow (1954:153), wages should correspond to training and seniority and should be a direct reflection of one's position. Jobs or positions that are alike in nature should have the same wages. Pay differences in dissimilar jobs based solely on gender or minority composition of the job or "comparable worth" is an area of concern. Evaluations of jobs are conducted to test for comparable worth and are used in many jobs, especially in the federal government (England 1999). Perhaps because of the heightened attention given to equal opportunity, African Americans have been migrating out of firms that are less aligned with federal governmental ideals of equal opportunity to those with a greater commitment to these ideals (Beggs 1995).

Besides education and training, another form of human capital is the possession of citizenship in a country. Becoming a citizen adds to an immigrant's human capital and may offer him or her greater opportunities in the U.S. labor market. One long-standing means of acquiring citizenship has been to serve in the United States military. Aliens who serve in the U.S. military are 3.2 times as likely to naturalize as opposed to those who do not serve (Yang 1994). The propensity of immigrants to naturalize is determined by both the socioeconomic characteristics of both the origin and receiving countries as well as their level of human capital (Yang 1994; Duleep and Regets 1994).

Description of the Data

Data for this study were derived from the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), which maintains personnel records on all service members. These data are an extract from "Active Duty Master File," of all Army personnel who were serving as of August 1999. Originally, the data contained 404,609 cases but this analysis will exclude 12,294 prisoners, missing in action, and personnel excluded for other reasons, such as being on appellate leave. Additionally, those cases where there was a non-correspondence between length of service and the individual's rank, i.e., a private with twenty years of service (297 enlisted) were removed. The final number of cases for analysis, after list-wise deletion, is 388,962 enlisted.

Description of Variables

The dependent variable in this study is logged yearly basic pay. Basic pay follows a schedule based on rank and length of service. Although basic pay does not incorporate various other forms of military compensation, Hosek and Sharp (2001) found that little difference exists between the use of basic pay and comprehensive measures of military earnings. Based on the January 1999 military basic pay scale provided by the Defense Finance and Accounting Service, the author computed basic pay for each individual based on his or her basic paygrade/rank and years of service (seniority). Seniority was computed by subtracting a soldier's basic pay start day (lbasic paybas) from 1999, the cutoff year. From this, the dependent variable is logged basic yearly basic pay of personnel as of August 1999. The dependent variable was lognormal transformed to lessen the effects of earnings distributions that tend to be skewed. The skewness statistic measures the extent of lop-sidedness in a distribution. A normally distributed variable has a skewness value of zero. The untransformed dependent variable, yearly basic pay, has a skewness of 1.151. Lognormal transformation of the dependent variable greatly decreases its skewness to 0.495. Another distributional test, kurtosis, measures the magnitude of clustering around a middle point. Like skewness, a zero value indicates that the data are normally distributed. Yearly basic pay has a kurtosis value of 1.210 but when it is lognormal transformed, its kurtosis value greatly improves (-0.261). Using a transformed yearly basic pay variable is counter to what Kilburn, Louie, and Goldman (2001) argued. Their analysis was with an untransformed basic pay variable because they felt it was normally distributed.

The independent variables in the enlisted analysis are a vector of demographic variables, human capital variables, and health and security clearance variables (other forms of human capital). Level of health as well as security clearance was computed from occupational-level data. This data is included in each soldier-record that contains information about the soldier's duty, primary and secondary occupations. A duty occupation is usually the same as a primary occupation, which reflects a soldier's most current occupation in which he or she works. Secondary occupations are those occupations that are held before taking on a current occupation. Information about occupations is based on matching primary occupations held by soldiers with data obtained from DMDC's Military Occupational and Training file (MOTD). This database contains hundreds of tables that describe and standardize the military's various occupations. Descriptive data from ODB was used in this study to construct contextual variables that indicate health levels and the type of security clearances required for various military occupations.

Method of Analysis

Ordinary least-squares regression was used to analyze differentials in earnings. Both education-only models and models that include human capital and demographic variables (full models) will be analyzed. In addition, gender specific education-only and full models will be carried out to test for interaction effects. Description of the full regression model, model 4, is given below. Although not presented, gender specific full models will also be tested.

Enlisted Full Model

$$Y_{(\ln)ybp} = a_0 + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 + b_4x_4 + b_5x_5 + b_6x_6 + e$$

- Where Y = Logged yearly basic pay.
- X₁ = Gender
Females, 1, and Males, 0 (reference group).
- X₂ = Vector of dummy variables relating to race/ethnicity.
Asians
African Americans
Other races
Hispanics
Whites (reference group)
- X₃ = Vector of dummy variables concerning marital status and number of children.
Marital Status
Married
Separated/other
Divorced
Single (reference group)
Number of children
- X₄ = Vector of dummy variables dealing with citizenship status.
Non-citizen soldiers
Naturalized soldiers
Derivative naturalization soldiers
Native born U.S. soldiers (reference group)
- X₅ = Vector human capital variables such as education, occupation, and training.
Education
No high school
High school (reference group)
Some college
AA/LPN
BA or higher
Training Dummy Variables
Specialized (none is reference group)
General (none is reference group)
- X₆ = Vector for health and security clearance occupational requirements.
Health

Occupation allows for minor deficiency
 Occupation requires only healthy (reference group)
 Security Clearance (none is reference group)

Beside the full model, there are three other models gradually incorporating additional explanatory variables. Model 1 includes education-only human capital variables (baseline model), model 2 is the complete vector of human capital variables (X_5), and model 3 is X_1 through X_4 plus education-only human capital variables.

Results

In Table 1, below, descriptive statistics are given for pooled, male, and female soldiers. In terms of race/ethnicity, women have a higher percentage than do men of being Asian, Black, or other. On the other hand, there are a higher percentage of Hispanic and White males. A higher percentage of men than women are married. The percentage of divorced women is greater than divorced men. For all categories of citizenship except native-born citizens, women have a higher percentage of representation. The same is true for levels of education at or above an associate degree. The percentage of men who have received specialized or general training is higher than for women.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics, U.S. Army Enlisted, August 1999

<u>Explanatory Variables</u>	<u>Pooled</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Yearly Basic pay (Average)	\$18,964	\$19,122	\$18,071
(ln) Yearly Basic pay (Average)	9.8	9.8	9.8
Race or Ethnicity			
Asians	2.6	2.6	2.9
African Americans	29.5	26.4	46.9
Other Races	3.9	3.9	4.2
Hispanics	8.3	8.4	7.5
Whites	55.6	58.7	38.5
Marital Status and Fertility			
Married	51.9	53.2	44.7
Separated, Other	0.2	0.1	0.5
Divorced	4.2	3.3	9.2
Single	43.7	43.4	45.5
Number of Dependents (Average)	1.3	1.3	0.9
Citizenship			
Non-citizen	2	1.9	2.4
Naturalized	1.9	1.8	2.4
Derivative Citizenship	1.3	1.3	1.4
Native Born Citizen	94.7	94.9	93.8
Education			

No High School	10.3	10.1	12
High School	79.8	80.8	74.3
Some College	0.2	0.2	0.2
AA/LPN	6.1	5.8	8.3
BA or Higher	3.5	3.3	5.1
Training			
Specialized Training	13.5	14.6	7.3
No Specialized Training	86.5	85.4	92.7
General Training	5.3	5.4	4.5
No General Training	94.7	94.6	95.5
Contextual Variables			
Fitness Requirements of Occupation			
Healthy	33.4	37.8	8.7
Minor Defect	58.2	56.1	70.2
More Serious Defect	7.8	5.5	20.7
Security Clearance Occupational Requirement			
Required	24.9	25.6	20.9
Not Required	74.8	74.1	78.9
N	388,962	330,554	58,408

In Tables 2 through 4, results from OLS regression are presented for pooled, male, and female models. In Table 2, after controlling for human capital and demographic variables, women still earn less than men, although the difference is not large. Asians and Hispanics earn less than Whites, while African Americans and members of other races earn more. Married, separated, and especially divorced soldiers earn more than single soldiers. Noncitizens and derivative citizens (naturalized by way of parents) earn less than native-born citizens, but naturalized citizens earn more. In terms of education, soldiers possessing less than a high school degree or some college earn less than high school graduates while soldiers possessing at least an associate degree earn more. Not surprisingly, specialized or general training provides greater returns than not having any training. After controlling for human capital and demographic differences, there is a negative effect of being in an occupation that allows for minor defects, but a positive one for occupations allowing for defects that are more serious. This suggests that over time, soldiers with more seniority, yet having greater accumulated health problems are migrating to these occupations.

For males, in Table 3, the results remain much the same as described for the pooled findings except that the magnitude is usually greater. The best model is the full model, that is, the model including all human capital and demographic variables explains fifty-four percent of all variance. The education-only model explains only twenty-five percent of all variance.

In the last table, Table 4, findings are different. The effects of race on basic pay for women are less a factor than for men. For Asian women, there is no statistical difference in basic pay between them and White women. The influence of education is much the same for women as they are for men except there is no statistical basic pay difference between being a high school graduate and possessing some college. The effects of education at higher levels are

less for women than for men, but remain positive and significant. The same holds for training. Women experience a premium for training, but less so than men. Women in occupations that allow for minor defects, after controlling for all other variables, do not experience a decrease in basic pay, unlike men. Whether an occupation requires a security clearance has no statistical influence on women's basic pay on average. As was true for Table 2 and 3, the full model is the best; nearly forty-nine percent of the variance is explained.

Finally, T-test for significant differences between the coefficients for gender specific models were computed. There is no significant differences between the sexes except for whether the service member is married or not ($t=23.19$, $p=0.0137$). In other words, being married, for men, has a significantly greater positive influence on their earnings than is the case for women.

Table 2. OLS Estimates of Regression of (ln) Yearly Basic pay, U.S. Army Enlisted, August 1999

Explanatory Variables	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>	<u>Model 4</u>
Constant	9.817***	9.775***	9.640***	9.624***
Female¹			-0.050***	-0.042***
Race or Ethnicity²				
Asians			-0.010***	-0.006**
African Americans			0.049***	0.053***
Other Races			0.040***	0.040***
Hispanics			-0.029***	-0.027***
Marital Status³ and Fertility				
Married			0.229***	0.218***
Separated, Other			0.230***	0.217***
Divorced			0.310***	0.292***
Number of Dependents			0.027***	0.025***
Citizenship⁴				
Non-citizen			-0.117***	-0.110***
Naturalized			0.063***	0.056***
Derivative Citizenship			-0.012***	-0.014***
Education⁵				
No High School	-0.390***	-0.362***	-0.257***	-0.243***
Some College	-0.057***	-0.050***	-0.070***	-0.064***
AA/LPN	0.325***	0.289***	0.225***	0.204***
BA or Higher	0.195***	0.166***	0.153***	0.136***
Training⁶				
Specialized Training		0.197***		0.148***
General Training		0.129***		0.090***
Contextual Variables				
Fitness Requirement of Occupation⁷				
Minor Defect		0.006***		-0.008***
More Serious Defect		0.057***		0.027***
Security Clearance Occupational Requirement⁸			0.000***	0.000***

Adjusted R ²	0.255	0.319	0.499	0.533
F Statistic	33,365	16,886	24,179	21,161

¹ Reference group=males; ² Reference group=Whites; ³ Reference Group=Single; ⁴ Reference Group=Native Born Citizens; ⁵ Reference Group=High School; ⁶ Reference Group=None; ⁷ Reference Group=Healthy; ⁸ Reference Group=No clearance.

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3. OLS Estimates of Regression of (ln) Yearly Basic pay, U.S. Army Male Enlisted, August 1999

Explanatory Variables	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>	<u>Model 4</u>
Constant	9.825***	9.777***	9.633***	9.617***
Race or Ethnicity¹				
Asians			-0.010***	-0.005*
African Americans			0.043***	0.048***
Other Races			0.039***	0.038***
Hispanics			-0.032***	-0.029***
Marital Status² and Fertility				
Married			0.248***	0.236***
Separated, Other			0.266***	0.250***
Divorced			0.326***	0.306***
Number of Dependents			0.026***	0.024***
Citizenship³				
Non-citizen			-0.119***	-0.112***
Naturalized			0.063***	0.057***
Derivative Citizenship			-0.009***	-0.011***
Education⁴				
No High School	-0.399***	-0.368***	-0.256***	-0.241***
Some College	-0.067***	-0.059***	-0.076***	-0.070***
AA/LPN	0.331***	0.292***	0.219***	0.199***
BA or Higher	0.196***	0.164***	0.143***	0.126***
Training⁵				
Specialized Training		0.194***		0.145***
General Training		0.130***		0.090***
Health⁶				
Minor Defect		0.013***		-0.009***
More Serious Defect		0.079***		0.031***
Security Clearance Occupational Requirement⁷		0.000***		0.000***
Adjusted R ²	0.249	0.315	0.508	0.543
F Statistic	27,418	16,886	22,737	19,647

¹ Reference group=Whites; ² Reference Group=Single; ³ Reference Group=Native Born Citizens;

⁴ Reference Group=High School; ⁵ Reference Group=none; ⁶ Reference Group=Healthy; ⁷ Reference Group=No clearance.

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4. OLS Estimates of Regression of (ln) Yearly Basic pay, U.S. Army Female Enlisted, August 1999

Explanatory Variables	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>	<u>Model 4</u>
Constant	9.765***	9.735***	9.623***	9.617***
Race or Ethnicity¹				
Asians			0.002	0.002
African Americans			0.079***	0.076***
Other Races			0.053***	0.050***
Hispanics			-0.009**	-0.012***
Marital Status² and Fertility				
Married			0.135***	0.129***
Separated, Other			0.146***	0.139***
Divorced			0.252***	0.238***
Number of Dependents			0.020***	0.019***
Citizenship³				
Non-citizen			-0.101***	-0.096***
Naturalized			0.063***	0.055***
Derivative Citizenship			-0.028***	-0.029***
Education⁴				
No High School	-0.336***	-0.321***	-0.259***	-0.250***
Some College	0.005	0.007	-0.028	-0.024
AA/LPN	0.320***	0.288***	0.249***	0.228***
BA or Higher	0.210***	0.184***	0.188***	0.169***
Training⁵				
Specialized Training		0.182***		0.156***
General Training		0.109***		0.085***
Contextual Variables				
Fitness Requirement of Occupation⁶				
Minor Defect		0.003		-0.008**
More Serious Defect		0.059***		0.022***
Security Clearance Occupational Requirement⁷		0.000		0.000
Adjusted R ²	0.316	0.358	0.462	0.489
F Statistic	6,733	3,615	3,347	2,792

¹ Reference group=Whites; ² Reference Group=Single; ³ Reference Group=Native Born Citizens;

⁴ Reference Group=High School; ⁵ Reference Group=none; ⁶ Reference Group=Healthy; ⁷ Reference Group=No clearance.

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Discussion

In this study, results from analysis show that human capital only models do not explain differences in basic pay as well as do models that incorporate demographic and sociological variables, in addition to human capital. The best model for the pooled, male, and female models was the full model. For all, African Americans and members of other races earn more, on average, than do Whites, after controlling for human capital and demographic variables. Women tend to earn less basic pay than men, but the effect, although significant, is slight. This confirms findings from Kroncke and Long (1998), that suggest there is a gender pay gap regardless of sector (public or private), but that in the public sector the gap is less than in the private sector. On the other hand, female soldiers receive less of a premium, generally, for their investment in human capital than do male soldiers. Naturalized citizens, regardless of gender, earn more than soldiers of all other types of citizenship status. This is probably a result of the naturalization process and self-selection bias. Regardless of gender or type of model, non-citizen soldiers earn less than soldiers of all other types of citizenship status. Interaction effects between gender and the various explanatory variables in the full model were found not to be significant except for being married. For men, the positive influence of being married on earnings is significantly greater than for women.

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Religious Diversity in the Armed Forces: A Growing Equal Opportunity Challenge

Major Robert A. Preiss

Abstract

Religion has been the subject of relatively little attention or research by Equal Opportunity specialists who have, instead, dedicated most efforts toward issues of race, ethnicity and gender. Changing religious demographics in the military and in American society in general, however, demand more and better information to support decision-makers as they reevaluate existing policies.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Religious Diversity in the Armed Forces: A Growing Equal Opportunity Challenge

Major Robert A. Preiss

The changing religious demographics of the United States as a whole and within the Armed Forces in particular call for both greater awareness and improved information about religion for Equal Opportunity specialists and leaders at all levels. America is the most religiously diverse nation on Earth. In recent years, it has become even more diverse (Eck, 2001). As a reflection of the society from which it is drawn, this increased religious diversity is also being reflected in the military (Elsasser, 1999). Growth in the numbers of Muslim, Pagan and secular/non-religious personnel in the Armed Forces may provide a basis to rethink a number of policies and practices. In any case, in order to better assess these trends and create policies to address them, officials and scholars in the Equal Opportunity field may want to explore improved ways for DoD to collect and analyze religious demographic and attitudinal data on the subject of religion. Better and more information is needed to effectively detect, eliminate and prevent religious discrimination in the ranks as well as to capitalize on the potential benefits that the new religious diversity brings.

Islam

The number of Muslims in the US Armed Forces has nearly doubled since Operation Desert Storm. In 1993 there were about 2,500 Muslims on active duty. By 1999, that number had grown to over 4,000 (Akhtar, 1998). This growth in the number of Muslims in the Services is likely to continue since a number of observers estimate Islam to be the fastest growing organized religion in the United States where, by some counts, the number of adherents is now approaching that of Judaism. A large part of this growth stems from the expansion of Islam among African Americans but there is also a substantial portion attributable to increased immigration to the United States from Islamic countries over the past decade (Eck, 2001).

The Armed Forces have responded to this growth by appointing chaplains and building an on-base mosque. The American military's first mosque was opened in Norfolk to serve the estimated 700 Muslims in uniform serving in the area. In addition, a private organization -- American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council -- has been designated an ecclesiastical endorsing authority to nominate qualified candidates for appointment as Muslim chaplains. Out of the ten Muslim military chaplains currently serving the US Armed Forces, six are serving in the Army, three are in the Navy, and one is with the Air Force. In fact, these ten chaplains have established the Muslim American Military Chaplains Association and convened their first meeting in August 2000 to discuss common issues at the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Virginia (GSIS newsletter, June 2001). There is also a Muslim-American Military Association, which includes members from every branch of service

and has been an active public voice on behalf of their constituents including participation in the case of *Rigdon v. Perry* on the subject of religious free speech by chaplains.

As the United States seeks to harness all available assets to fight the war on terrorism, the cultural perspective and expertise of loyal American Muslims will become an even more important asset. Muslim members of the Armed Forces will be particularly valuable in this regard. The Defense Department can strengthen this asset by continuing to deliberately foster a work and service environment that is both supportive and appreciative of Muslim soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines.

Neo-Paganism

Another rapidly growing religious movement in the United States is Neo-paganism particularly the religion of Wicca. First publicly described in 1954 by Gerald Gardner in his book *Witchcraft Today*, Wicca is, according to its adherents, the descendant of the pre-Christian indigenous religion of Europe, the remnants of which have over the centuries been referred to by the term "witchcraft."

The number of witches or Wiccans in the United States has not been thoroughly researched or documented. Reliable estimates place the number at between 750,000 and 1 million, which would make the religion about as widely practiced as Hinduism. Wicca, however, has an extensive literature, which sells so heavily that a Barnes & Noble executive has estimated the size of the market for Wiccan books to be about 10 million people (Eck, 2001).

Even in the absence of firm data, there is ample anecdotal evidence indicating a growth in the popularity of pagan religions among members of the Armed Forces over the past 10 years. A Wiccan "Open Circle" held Pagan services for Army personnel on base at Fort Hood and sparked a brief backlash by some fundamentalist Christians outside the military when their presence was reported in the media in 1999. A "Coven of the Dragon Warrior," named for the XVIII Airborne Corps symbol and composed of Pagan soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg has reportedly sought permission to worship on that post (Biance, 1999). A Wiccan Marine stationed at Cherry Point, North Carolina recently requested a court martial in lieu of non-judicial punishment based on his unique religious needs. He had been restricted to base subject to several exceptions including religious services. When he was charged with violating the restriction after leaving base to buy ritual items, he contended that he had not indeed violated the restriction based on the religious exception (Talton, 2000). These are just a few instances, which have appeared in the civilian news media over the past couple of years. Stories about Wiccans in uniform have also been reported in *Army Times* (11/11/97) and *Air Force Times* (10/26/87).

In fact, there are now sanctioned Wiccan faith groups worshipping on 11 military bases or naval vessels. This estimate comes from the Military Pagan Network, a private organization formed to speak on behalf of Pagan service members much as AMAFVAC and MAMA were formed to speak on behalf of Muslim service members. Unlike Islam and others, Wicca is not a centrally "organized" religion. Lacking a single central authority, the religion relies on several entities for representation. One of these, the Sacred Well Congregation of San Antonio presently supports Wiccan groups on seven military installations (Bianca, 1999).

The response to the growing numbers of Pagans in the Armed Forces has varied among the Services. In response to the news media coverage of the Fort Hood Wiccans, Army leaders publicly reiterated the policy of accommodating the religious needs of soldiers generally and not officially "recognizing" or endorsing any particular religion or religions. The Air Force recently made changes to MilMod, its new personnel data system, to allow Pagan airmen to specify "Wicca" or "Pagan" as specific choices in the religious preference field of the database. Previously, these options were not available for selection so that Pagan members of the Air Force could only identify themselves as "Other Religion" or "No Preference" or some other classification (Kennedy, 2001).

Extremism

While the military services may be officially tolerant and even accommodating of minority religions, the growth of these religions in the ranks may well attract criticism and even outright attack from persons both inside and outside the Department of Defense.

At both Fort Hood and Fort Bragg, civilian ministers of certain churches in nearby towns explicitly attempted to convince military leadership to curtail rather than accommodate the free practice of religion on base by Pagan soldiers. In one particularly notable instance, one Texas pastor reportedly said that rather than accommodate the Wiccans, the military should instead napalm them. To their great credit, military leaders resisted these outside influences and upheld their constitutional duty. In neither case, however, did the leaders or the military pagans seek to have these certain civilian churches designated as "extremist organizations" despite the fact that their actions could easily be interpreted as falling within the definition of such. According to DoD Directive 1325.6, "Military personnel must reject participation in organizations that espouse supremacist causes; attempt to create illegal discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, or national origin; advocate the use of force or violence; or otherwise engage in efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights." If the growth of Pagan or other minority religions in the American military continues to evoke calls for suppression from the occasional civilian church group, commanders in the future may well find themselves in the very difficult position of having to determine that a nearby civilian church is an extremist organization and to treat it accordingly.

Within just a week of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center, the FBI was already investigating at least 40 cases of alleged retaliatory assaults and other hate crimes directed against Arab or Muslim residents of the United States (Millbank, 2001). While there were no known incidents of this sort within the US military, at least one Army officer had to make an on-the-spot correction and informally counsel a soldier who made unacceptable comments about the need to kill all "ragheads." Clearly, organized or disorganized hate directed against Muslim soldiers, sailors, marines, or airmen could raise its head much as it has in certain instances with regard to Wiccans in uniform. Security personnel as well as commanders and EO advisors may have to be alert, sensitive, and responsive to these new sources of extremism as well as the traditional ones.

Secular

There is a popular old axiom that there are "no Atheists in foxholes." This assertion is obviously not quite true. According to Defense Manpower Data Center statistics, more than 1,500 active duty military personnel are atheists and have overtly registered that fact as their religious preference in personnel system databases. Presumably, quite a number of them have, in fact, been in foxholes. One particular case in point was illustrated in the September 1989 issue of *The Humanist* magazine which carried an essay by Phillip K. Paulson entitled, "I Was an Atheist in a Foxhole," recounting his experience as a non-believer in combat in Vietnam. Atheist Dudley C. Gould likewise wrote of his experiences as an infantry platoon leader during the Korean conflict in his book, *You Tremble Body*. Beyond the written word, harder evidence can be found in the form of a granite monument to foxhole atheists. In a grove of trees overlooking Lake Hypatia, outside Talladega, Alabama stands a tall memorial obelisk on which is engraved, "In memory of Atheists in Foxholes and the countless freethinkers who have served this country with honor and distinction." The monument was funded primarily by veteran members of the National Freedom From Religion Foundation. Like the Muslims and Pagans in foxholes, military Atheists have their own private organization as well. The Military Association of Atheists and Freethinkers (MAAF) was founded in 1998, maintains a web site and is led by an Army Sergeant First Class (Clark).

But even short of outright atheism, there is ample evidence that the American military is reflecting if not exceeding the clear trend in American society as a whole toward being less religious and more secular in outlook.

Among the most profound changes in American religious demographics is the significant and persistent movement away from organized religion generally (Flynn, 2000). The proportion of Americans expressing no religious preference doubled from 7% in 1972 to 14% in 2000 (Salt Lake Tribune, 1/15/2000). Among people under age 30 – the segment of society from which nearly all military recruiting takes place – 20% say they have no religious preference (Mitchell, 1999).

In contrast, a far larger proportion – 16-24% -- of military personnel of all ages have registered "no religious preference" in the personnel systems of their respective services (Estrin, 2000). The percentage varies from service to service, probably for a variety of reasons. In the Army, 24% have registered "No Religious Preference." Why is this so much more prevalent in the Army than in society as a whole? Are soldiers lying in order to conceal their real religious preferences? Do they do this to avoid religious persecution? Are they merely indicating that they prefer to not have the military involved in their religious life in any way? Is there something about the Army that attracts more non-religious people than one finds in the general population? We don't know. Research in these areas has been inadequate to answer questions of this sort.

One thing is certain however. The segment of the population who says they have no religious preference is growing in America and it is even larger still in the American military.

Implications

The implications for the Armed Forces as a result of all of the changing religious realities are immense. As a result, leaders may want to reevaluate their approach to religion in a number of different ways.

The use of public prayer outside of strictly religious services, for example, may need to be reconsidered. In the aftermath of the *Anderson v. Laird* federal court case, it has been unlawful since 1973 for the military to require its members to attend religious services (Benjamin, 1998). Still, exceptions can and do occur.

Presently, for example, while religious services cannot be made mandatory, current Army guidelines allow commanders to mandate soldier attendance at “ceremonies” even if they include prayers or scripture readings. Even if it is technically legal to do so, this may not be a good idea in today’s increasingly diverse religious environment. As more and more of the force is made up of adherents outside the Judeo-Christian religious mainstream, the likelihood increases that these practices will give offense to those forced to attend official duty gatherings which include alien religious elements. Such a situation fails to show consideration of others with respect to their beliefs and practices. More importantly, it may well be discriminatory or at least a violation of the spirit of Equal Opportunity rules. By being put in a position of having to ask to be excused from some business or ceremonial gathering in order to avoid having to act along with the public prayer, a soldier is forced to choose between an “opportunity” and his or her religion. This issue was specifically addressed in a recent Air Force Judge Advocate opinion that determined prayer at staff meetings, for example, to be ill-advised on both legal and equal opportunity grounds (USAF memo, 1998). The prudent choice for chaplains and commanders then, may be to restrict public prayer to those expressly religious services which personnel may opt to attend or not as they choose.

Traditionally, when a service member has a personal problem, the chain of command frequently refers him or her to the Chaplain. With the growth in the numbers of people in the Armed Forces who are outside the Judeo-Christian mainstream, there may be a similarly growing need for non-religious counselors to provide that sort of assistance to personnel uncomfortable being counseled by an authority figure of a religion to which they don't subscribe. There may be a new need to add secular mental health counselors or therapists to help troops deal with loss, grief, fear, or other stress. One might even be able to argue that failing to make such resources readily available constitutes religious discrimination against Atheists and those who express no religious preference.

These trends in religious observance merit the serious attention of the Defense Department's Equal Opportunity professionals. Unfortunately, the raw tools to study them are lacking. In general, DoD Equal Opportunity publications, studies, and data sets have focused most attention and effort on the subjects of race, ethnicity, and gender. Religion, in contrast, has been largely ignored, thereby leaving a significant gap in the understanding by both leaders and EO specialists about this form of discrimination.

Some basic religious data, of course, is available. The personnel system of every service has information about the religious denomination of service members. While this data is

frequently used by chaplains and dog tag makers, it seems to have been largely skipped by the Equal Opportunity community even as a point of departure for further inquiry.

The Equal Opportunity Survey conducted by the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) from September 1996 through February 1997 was a discrimination research effort of unprecedented magnitude within the Department of Defense. It contained 81 questions and was sent to 76,754 members across every one of the Armed Forces. None of the questions asked about religious discrimination. Respondents were not asked their religion (DMDC Report 97-027).

Similarly, the current Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) contains 39 questions. None of the questions ask about religious discrimination. Respondents are not asked their religion.

What small amount of data collection there has been on this issue, however, seems only to indicate a need for more in-depth study.

The Army Command Climate Survey is required to be conducted at the Company level within 90-180 days of a change of command and annually thereafter. Question 21 of that survey asks, "During the last 12 months, have YOU been subjected to discrimination in this unit?" Respondents are then asked to circle all answers that apply to them from a list which includes: "No"; "Yes, racial"; "Yes, religious"; "Yes, gender (sex)"; and "Yes, national origin." Because this survey is primarily a tool for commanders, there is no Army-wide compilation of the responses. In 1997, however, the extensive Army-wide Sample Survey of Military Personnel (SSMP) conducted annually by the Army Research Institute asked a nearly identical question and found that 2.2% of enlisted respondents indicated that they had been the subject of religious discrimination within the past 12 months (SSMP, 1997).

Two percent may not seem like much, but if true across the Armed Forces, it would equate to as many as 28,000 uniformed victims of religious discrimination yearly. Unfortunately, the demographic portion of the survey did not ask about respondents' religion so it is impossible to correlate the incidence of religious discrimination to see if it occurred more frequently among religious minorities. Intuitively, however, this would seem to make sense.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that the percentage of soldiers experiencing religious discrimination and the percentage of all soldiers who have expressed a non-Christian religious preference are both a little over 2%. So, how many religious minority members in the Armed Forces are the victims of discrimination? Potentially, all of them! Or, at least, those who dare to identify themselves. Again, more data and more study are needed.

This brings up another issue. Religious minorities in the Armed Forces may even be more susceptible to discrimination than other minorities for several reasons. First, religious minorities tend to be much smaller than other minorities. As a result, they may tend to keep quiet and suffer discrimination in silence. With regard to Wiccans, for example, this phenomenon was even expressly acknowledged in DA Pamphlet 165-13 *"Religious Requirements and Practices of Certain Selected Groups: A Handbook for Chaplains"* (1990). It

notes that, "Wiccans in the military, especially those who may be posted in countries perceived to be particularly intolerant, will often have their dog tags read 'No Religious Preference.' Concealment is a traditional Wiccan defense against persecution..."

In conclusion, scholars and officials should recognize the need for greater research in this area and expand efforts accordingly. To support and encourage this expanded research and analysis, DoD and the Services will have to expand efforts to collect data. Adding questions about religious accommodation, preferences and discrimination to the MEOCS, the Sample Survey of Military Personnel, the Command Climate Survey, and similar tools would be a relatively easy and productive place to start. Re-evaluating the options by which service members may express their religious preferences in the automated personnel data systems in each Service, as the Air Force already has done, would be another important step. With more and better data about the religious attitudes of service members, commanders will be better equipped to make decisions about future policies and needs of the Armed Forces.

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Diverse Views of Religious Pluralism: Implications for the Military Chaplaincy

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Abstract

This paper examines the challenge religious pluralism poses for military chaplains and the chaplaincy. Among religious scholars and theologians there is an ongoing debate about the meaning of pluralism. The dialogue suggests the interpretation of religious pluralism depends upon personal religious beliefs and how the meaning of “religion” is framed. The implication is that the interpretation of religious pluralism may influence how religious diversity is embraced and how religious accommodation is achieved. Drawing from literature on religious pluralism and intergroup behavior, along with input from several military chaplains, a conceptual analysis is presented that explores how distinctive views of religious pluralism within the chaplaincy may influence the attitudes and behaviors of military chaplains and the strategic direction of the chaplaincy organization.

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“Religious pluralism is an important fact, as well as a significant factor in our society and in our world . . . However, what religious pluralism really means depends not so much on the fact of religious pluralism itself, but upon how one interprets the meaning and significance of this fact.”

(Massanari, 1998)

The concept of religious pluralism is most often associated with religious diversity and religious accommodation, i.e., the need for organizations to accommodate the diverse religious beliefs of their workers (Bennett, 2001; Elsasser, 1999). Broadly, religious pluralism reflects the idea that members of diverse religious backgrounds are able to participate in and develop their traditional beliefs within the confines of a common environment. This generally translates into organizational policies, programs, and actions that address these various religious needs (Anonymous, 2000; Bennett, 2001). Among religious scholars and theologians, however, there is an ongoing and often intense debate on the meaning and understanding of religious pluralism itself (cf. Dupuis, 1997; Koyama, 1999; Okholm & Phillips, 1995; Osman, 1998; Rowe, 1999). While the definition of “pluralism” in general – that is, encompassing more than one – would appear to be clearly understood in a religious context, the dialogue among scholars suggests that the interpretation of religious pluralism in particular depends upon one’s personal religious beliefs and how one frames the meaning of “religion.” Moreover, each individual construct of religious pluralism typically is associated with a specific action agenda as part of its respective meaning (Massanari, 1998). The implication is that how one interprets religious pluralism may influence how religious diversity is embraced and how religious accommodation is achieved. For persons charged with the responsibility for providing religious support within an organization, the relationship between pluralism views, religious diversity, and accommodation is likely to be especially relevant.

In the U.S. military, the members generally tasked with facilitating religious accommodation are military chaplains. Chaplains provide for the spiritual health of military personnel and their families, within a “religiously pluralistic environment” (Department of the Air Force, 1999; Military Chaplaincy, 1995). At the same time, chaplains are endorsed representatives of their respective faiths. Consequently, they have the dual obligation of adhering to their personal faith beliefs, while also attending to the spiritual needs of others that may or may not share a similar faith. This potential juxtaposition of faith beliefs with functional role responsibilities may create a unique dilemma for some chaplains (Jones, 1996).

Furthermore, the tenets of the chaplains' specific faith group combined with individual interpretations of religious pluralism may generate some discord within the military chaplaincy as an organization. This paper examines the challenge religious pluralism poses for military chaplains and the chaplaincy. Drawing from literature on religious pluralism and intergroup behavior, along with input from several military chaplains, a conceptual analysis is presented that explores how distinctive views of religious pluralism within the chaplaincy may influence the attitudes and behaviors of military chaplains and the strategic direction of the chaplaincy organization.

A Brief History of the Military Chaplaincy

The Armed Forces (military) chaplaincy dates back to the Revolutionary War when in 1775, the Continental Congress authorized the appointment of chaplains for the armed Services (Drazin & Currey, 1995). The chaplain's primary purpose was to provide "divine service" for the troops, mainly prayer and religious worship. Today, the chaplain's role has expanded to include many other pastoral duties. In addition to conducting worship services and performing sacraments, chaplains are engaged in family life ministry, youth programs, suicide prevention, counseling, community outreach, leadership advisement, moral and ethics training, and multi-faith accommodation (Department of the Army, 2000; Brinsfield, 1997). Chaplains also provide essential religious and moral support for military personnel during times of war. More than 500 Army unit ministry teams, for instance, were deployed to Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War and many other teams were deployed to peacekeeping efforts in Somalia, Croatia, and Bosnia (Brinsfield, 1997). Presently, there are approximately 5,000 chaplains in the Armed Forces, nearly half of which are members of the Reserve and National Guard.

Military chaplains are certified by ecclesiastical endorsing agencies that represent a wide variety of distinctive faith groups (Military Chaplaincy, 1995). These agencies ensure that persons applying for the chaplaincy are certified clergy, possessing requisite religious qualifications (Drazin & Curry, 1995; Department of Defense, 1993). Any religious group may apply to the Armed Forces Chaplaincy Board (AFCB) to become an ecclesiastical endorser, given they meet certain criteria. Endorsers must be organized exclusively to provide religious ministry to an existing lay constituency and agree to Department of Defense (DoD) regulations and guidelines for selecting qualified clergy representatives (Department of Defense, 1993). The open policy for establishing ecclesiastical endorsers ensures a diverse, though not necessarily equal, representation of faith groups within the chaplaincy. While the majority of chaplains are Protestant, many faith groups are represented, which speaks to the religious diversity within the chaplaincy organization itself (see Table 1).

Table 1
Active Duty Chaplains by Faith Group
As of FY 2000

Major Faith Groups	Army	Navy/ USMC	Air Force	Percent of Total
Protestant	1,153	667	468	82.9%
Catholic	103	178	124	14.7%
Muslim	6	3	1	.4%
Jewish	10	12	7	1.1%
Orthodox	6	11	8	.9%
Total	1,278	871	608	100%

Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense

The chaplaincy's commitment to the free exercise of religion was strengthened in 1986 after a fierce court battle that challenged the constitutionality of the military chaplaincy. In 1979, two Harvard law students filed a civil suit charging that the chaplaincy program (specifically the Army chaplaincy) violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment, which states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (Drazin & Currey, 1995). The students argued that the military chaplaincy constituted an institutionalized religion, favoring religion over non-religion and certain religions over others; thereby prohibiting the free exercise of faith (or lack thereof). Ultimately, the courts sided with the military, stating that the chaplaincy was uniquely designed to meet the specific needs of military personnel. Although no clear legal mandate emerged from the case, the event affirmed the chaplaincy's primary purpose as securing the rights of military personnel to freely exercise their religion (Drazin & Currey, 1995). Thus, chaplains became responsible for "free exercise" rights, regardless of their religious affiliation or the affiliation of the military persons they service (Department of the Army, 2000). Currently, the military chaplaincy represents over 230 distinctive faith groups (Military Chaplaincy, 1995).

Diverse Views of Religious Pluralism

In addition to possessing different faith beliefs, chaplains are also likely to differ in their views of religious pluralism. The religion literature indicates that there are various perspectives of the pluralism concept. According to the literature, each view of religious pluralism is dependent upon the tenets of an individual's faith group and the person's conception of "religion" (cf. Dupis, 1997; Goncalves, 2000; Koyama, 1999; Olkholm & Phillips, 1995; Osman, 1998). As Massanari (1998) describes, if "religion" is associated with Christianity, for example, then pluralism may be conceived as relating to different faith groups that adhere to Christian principles. However, if "religion" is associated with the quest for spiritual meaning and purpose, then pluralism transcends any particular faith group. Thus, the concept of pluralism is subject to

a wide range of interpretations. In an effort to explain the divergent and sometimes combative reactions to religious pluralism, Massanari (1998) developed a typology that broadly classifies the diverse perspectives into three categories: exclusivism, tolerance, and interdependence. As summarized below, their underlying principles and associated actions or agendas define the categories.

The exclusivism perspective of religious pluralism regards diverse religions as different *and* separate. Based on the principle of dualism where realities are categorized as “either/or,” exclusivism differentially distinguishes religions as normative and non-normative. From this perspective, one religion is truth while all others are false; that is, there is one “true” religion. Exclusivists, therefore, disavow pluralism as a threat to the one true faith, firmly dismissing the validity of all other faiths. Indeed, the very idea of pluralism is conceptually incongruent with the belief of a single religious truth. This position often results in efforts to convert those with “non-normative” beliefs in order to create exclusive uniformity with the one “true” faith.

By comparison, the tolerance perspective differs from exclusivism by acknowledging the existence of different religions and advocating the right of diverse religious traditions to exist. Based on the principle of religious liberty, this view posits that in order for one religion to freely exist then all others must be accorded the same freedom. However, this view of religious pluralism does not validate different religious beliefs. Rather, tolerance simply argues for the rights of others to adhere to their chosen beliefs. In essence, tolerance enables religious diversity by protecting the legal right to religious liberty, as specified by the U.S. Bill of Rights. In this regard, supporters of the tolerance view (egalitarians) are likely to eschew forceful efforts to convert others to their faith group. At the same time, they might encourage conversion by willingly sharing the tenets of their faith.

Unlike exclusivism or tolerance, the interdependence view of religious pluralism does not adhere to the dualism principle of separate and different. Instead, interdependence or non-dualism supplants the notion of “either/or” with a position of “both/and.” From this perspective, diverse religions are conceived as interconnected dimensions of each other. Commonalities are emphasized and individual distinctiveness acknowledged. Non-dualism promotes interfaith “harmony” by embracing religious differences and advocating learning from other religious traditions. Thus, faith beliefs become mutable, continuously evolving interpretations of reality. Non-dualists, therefore, actively seek to cultivate unity among divergent faith beliefs.

Table 2 summarizes the three views of religious pluralism as outlined by Massanari (1998). Simply stated, there are those who believe their religion is the only true religion; others who are willing to tolerate different religions; and still others whose faith beliefs are amalgams of multiple religions. Clearly, such divergent perspectives are likely to yield disparate and perhaps conflicting attitudes and behaviors toward religious diversity and religious accommodation. As organizations (including the military) grapple with how best to accommodate diverse religious beliefs, fundamental distinctions related to views of religious pluralism are likely to challenge those efforts. On the surface, accommodation may appear to be a matter of simply instituting policy. However, below the surface are the greater issues of enforcing the policy and the possibility that the policy itself may conflict with the enforcer’s faith beliefs.

Table 2

Views of Religious Pluralism (Massanari, 1998)

View	Principle	Philosophy	Agenda
Exclusivism (Exclusivists)	Dualism “either/or”	Stresses only one “true” religion; all others false	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Convert or negate other religions ▪ Exclusive uniformity
Tolerance (Egalitarians)	Religious liberty	Advocates right of other religions to exist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tolerate other religions ▪ Eschew extremism
Interdependence (Non-dualists)	Non-dualism “both/and”	Recognizes commonalities and distinctiveness among religions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Embrace commonness of religions ▪ Cultivate interdependence

Religious Accommodation in the Military

Largely driven by the historic court case and growing multiculturalism within the Services, the military has engaged in a concerted effort to accommodate diverse religious traditions. The Department of Defense is revising its *Accommodation of Religious Practices* directive, last published in 1988, and each branch of service has produced its own accompanying set of instructions (Department of Defense, 1988; Department of the Army, 1999; Department of the Navy, 1997; Department of the Air Force, 1996). The instructions cover everything from observing the “Sabbath”(which differs by faith group) to wearing a Jewish yarmulke with a military uniform to the sacramental use of peyote (a small cactus with hallucinogenic properties) by Native American service members (Department of Defense, 1998). Each guideline or policy instruction includes a variation of the following statement:

A basic principle of our nation is free exercise of religion. The Department of Defense places a high value on the rights of members of the Armed Forces to observe the tenets of their

respective religions. It is DoD policy that requests for accommodation of religious practices should be approved by commanders when accommodation will not have an adverse impact on military readiness, unit cohesion, standards, or discipline.

(DoD Directive 1300.17)

The accommodation directives attempt to address any area that may potentially inhibit the free exercise of religion. At a minimum the guidelines cover: (1) religious worship and observances, (2) religious apparel, (3) dietary requirements, and (4) medical practices (Huerta & Webb, 2001). These regulations reflect the diverse religious traditions among the many faith groups within the Department of Defense. Some faith groups, for example, worship on days other than Sunday (e.g., Seventh-Day Adventists). Other faith groups prohibit eating certain foods or require particular preparations (e.g., kosher), while others forbid the use of certain medical procedures (e.g., blood transfusions). Still other faith groups require specific rituals at the time of death (e.g., the Last Rites).

The guidelines for accommodating diverse religious traditions stress the enhanced role of chaplains as the guardians of religious freedom. Service-specific instructions such as Army Regulation 165-1, *Chaplain Activities in the United States Army*, have been significantly amended to underscore the chaplain's responsibility for religious liberty. For example, Section 4.4b reads, "Each chaplain will minister to the personnel of the unit and facilitate the 'free-exercise' rights of all personnel, regardless of religious affiliation of either the chaplain or the unit member" (Department of the Army, 2000). As such, chaplains are required to become knowledgeable about a multitude of religious traditions other than their own. At the same time, each policy directive contains a provision that shields chaplains from performing any duties that conflict with their faith beliefs. "Chaplains will not be required to take part in worship when such participation is at variance with the tenets of their faith" (e.g., Department of the Army, 2000, Section 4.4e). Taken together, chaplains must, therefore, balance their functional role responsibilities with adherence to their faith beliefs. When diverse views of religious pluralism are considered, some chaplains may struggle with the incongruity between religious accommodation and their personal views on religious pluralism.

The Intersection of Pluralism View and Religious Accommodation

Theory and research on intergroup relations is instructive for defining the interrelationship between diverse views of religious pluralism and attitudes and behaviors related to religious accommodation. The intergroup literature speaks to the dynamics that occur between a person's membership group (e.g., race, gender, religious affiliation) and another comparison group. The former is referred to as the "ingroup" and the latter is the "outgroup." Research has shown the ingroup vs. outgroup dynamic to influence a multitude of attitudes and behaviors such as intergroup competition, ingroup favoritism, and outgroup derogation (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Within the context of religious diversity, the intergroup dynamic speaks to the interaction between members of distinct faith groups. This interfaith dynamic is intensified by

diverse views of religious pluralism that ultimately shape reactions toward religious accommodation.

The religion literature suggests the exclusivism view of religious pluralism is most likely to collide with efforts to accommodate diverse religious traditions. Because the concept of pluralism is antithetical to the belief in one true religion, those who subscribe to the exclusivism perspective may resist accommodation efforts and possibly even subvert them (Massanari, 1998). For exclusivists, increased religious diversity signifies a threat that should be eliminated rather than a cultural movement that should be embraced (Loveland, 1996; Massanari, 1998; Pipes, 2000). The idea that other groups are perceived as a “threat” results in certain attitudes and behaviors directed toward those groups (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). Research on intergroup relations shows these outcomes are greatest when the outgroup is believed to be a competitive threat (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). From the exclusivists’ perspective, other faith groups may threaten their sectarian worldview, impede their ability to convert others, and/or hinder their efforts to promote their specific values and beliefs within an organizational system (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). Exclusivists, therefore, are likely to express some degree of antipathy toward religious diversity and resist any efforts toward religious accommodation (Loveland, 1996).

Another consequence of perceived competition between faith groups is outgroup derogation; that is, the tendency to disparage other groups (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Research shows that derogation often takes the form of negative stereotyping, which enables the ingroup to profess superiority over the outgroup (Crocker et al., 1998). For exclusivists, justifying the “one true religion” position would seem to necessitate disparaging all other faith beliefs. The “either/or” principle underlying exclusivism indicates the elevation of one faith group while subordinating all other faith groups (Loveland, 1996; Pipes, 2000). This derogation frequently translates into animosity toward other religions and possibly prejudice and discrimination (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1993).

Because of this aversion toward other faith groups, exclusivists may become distressed in interfaith settings. Such distress is referred to as intergroup anxiety, reflecting discomfort interacting with dissimilar others (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Research shows that intergroup anxiety amplifies feelings toward outgroup members, especially feelings of prejudice (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan, Ageyev, Coates-Shrider, Stephan, & Abalakina, 1994). As a result, exclusivists may try to avoid intergroup contact, opting not to participate in activities that would involve interfaith interaction (Driggs, 2001; Loveland, 1996). When avoidance is not possible, the presence of other faith groups may, instead, intensify exclusivists’ commitment to their ideology and provoke fervent justification of their faith beliefs – merely strengthening their resolve to convert others (Burris & Jackson, 2000). In essence, exclusivists object to pluralism and lament the push toward ecumenism (i.e., interfaith cooperation). For them, accommodation is viewed as a compromise to their faith beliefs. Any requirement to compromise is likely to be resisted.

Conversely, those who subscribe to the tolerance view of religious pluralism (egalitarians) do not see other religions as a threat to their faith group or their religious traditions. Instead, egalitarians believe it is possible to coexist with other faith groups while remaining

secure in their own faith beliefs (Loveland, 1996; Massanari, 1998). The ability to coexist is driven largely by egalitarians' commitment to religious liberty. Supporting the rights of others to freely exercise their religious beliefs guarantees religious freedom for all religions, including the egalitarians' religion. Furthermore, egalitarians do not accept the notion that protecting free exercise rights equates to relinquishing their own faith beliefs or endorsing the beliefs of others (Massanari, 1998). Rather, egalitarians maintain a sense of security that is grounded in the foundation of their particular faith and their personal commitment to the tenets of that faith (e.g., Loveland, 1996, p. 312). By personalizing the faith relationship, egalitarians reduce perceived intergroup (faith) competition, thereby engendering a willingness to tolerate other religions and champion religious accommodation.

Research on intergroup relations suggests that in the absence of intergroup competition, distinct groups can develop intergroup cooperation (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989). When groups focus on a mutual goal (e.g., religious liberty) or overarching similarities, they are able to attend to commonalities without allowing differences to impede their interaction (Seta, Seta, & Culver, 2000). In this sense, egalitarians perhaps acknowledge a "greater community of faith believers" – irrespective of their feelings toward any particular faith group. In doing so, they establish a base for inclusion rather than exclusion and foster intergroup cooperation. Egalitarians, therefore, are able to support religious diversity and accommodation without sacrificing their specific faith-group identity. Importantly, this ecumenical spirit may be most available among faith groups with similar religious foundations (e.g., monotheistic faiths that believe in "One God"). Extreme religious differences (e.g., Christianity vs. Paganism) may elicit limitations on certain accommodation efforts (Jorgensen & Russell, 1999; Cookson, 1997).

Despite egalitarians' tendency toward tolerance, negative feelings about certain religious groups may be unavoidable. Research shows that even the most well-intended persons are not free from stereotypes and prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In the absence of perceived intergroup competition, individuals still inherently favor their group over another group (Brewer & Brown, 1998). This favoritism may result in subtle prejudices and unintentional discrimination (Crocker et al, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In a religious context, distinctiveness among faith groups and differences in the groups' foundational beliefs lend themselves to stereotyping and prejudice (Kirkpatrick, 1993; Bolce & DeMaio, 1999). The differences (real or perceived) can lead to stigmatization of certain faith groups (Crocker, et al., 1998). Stigma conveys a negative opinion of these groups, frequently pointing to "fallacies" in the faith groups' fundamental beliefs (Cookson, 1997). The stigma devalues the group, reflecting a form of subtle prejudice (Crocker et al., 1998). In this regard, devaluing a faith group contradicts the principle of religious freedom. Egalitarians, therefore, must be careful to suppress negative feelings about certain faith groups and the impulse to engage in debates about religious beliefs.

Furthermore, the deeply affective nature of religion makes it difficult to fully integrate fairness values with religious convictions, especially when faced with contradictory beliefs (e.g., Christianity and Judaism). It may be impossible to separate feelings about a particular faith group from personal faith beliefs. Consequently, egalitarians may experience some level of interpersonal conflict between their desire to be tolerant toward other faiths and their commitment to their own faith beliefs. When this conflict arises, egalitarians may cope by

compromising some religious traditions as the situation dictates (e.g., using a generic prayer in interfaith settings). In doing so, egalitarians compartmentalize the situational context and the affective attachment to their faith group beliefs. Separating the two would allow egalitarians to keep their faith foundation in tact. In order to preserve that foundation and remain secure in their beliefs, however, egalitarians are likely to limit the extent of their compromise.

Different from exclusivists and egalitarians, non-dualists experience intergroup dynamics based on group permeability (i.e., ease of joining or exiting a group) rather than competition or cooperation. Because the interdependence view of pluralism seeks to embrace faith group similarities and differences, there is an absence of competitiveness or mere tolerance. Non-dualists are open to interfaith interaction and represent multi-faith unity. Possessing a nonexclusive ideology, non-dualists develop their beliefs by melding the beliefs of other faith groups (Jorgensen & Russell, 1999; www.uua.org). Since their religious practices are not fixed entities, non-dualists are not concerned about preserving religious traditions or foundational faith beliefs (Jorgensen & Russell, 1999; Massanari, 1998, www.uua.org). Moreover, the openness to diverse beliefs among members of non-dualistic faith groups diminishes negative perceptions of or prejudices toward other faith groups, leading to greater acceptance of religious diversity and religious accommodation (Goncalves, 2000).

The diffusion of faith beliefs among non-dualist faith groups embodies ecumenism, reflecting a certain respect for different religious traditions. In the quest for spiritual unity, non-dualists transcend religious boundaries and converge into interfaith harmony (Goncalves, 2000). They often promote interfaith initiatives to engender greater unity among faith groups. Because of the fluidity of non-dualistic faiths, in which multiple belief systems are continually synthesized, non-dualists do not conceive of their relationship with other faith groups as “we” vs. “they.” Rather, the interdependence of multiple faith beliefs limits the sense of group distinctiveness and instead yields a harmonious “us” (Goncalves, 2000; www.uua.org).

At the same time, however, non-dualist faith groups typically are the religious minority. As such, they often are made to feel marginalized among more traditional faith groups (Jorgensen & Russell, 1999; Loveland, 1996). Because of the fluidity of their beliefs or their contradiction with “mainstream” (e.g., monotheistic) faiths, non-dualists face challenges to their right to exist and/or their accommodation needs from other faith groups (Cookson, 1997; Jorgensen & Russell, 1999). Therefore, non-dualists seek more than accommodation of their religious practices, they also desire a greater acceptance of their faith values (Cookson, 1997; Jorgensen & Russell, 1999, www.uua.org).

In sum, the interaction between views of religious pluralism and attitudes and behaviors toward religious diversity and religious accommodation is complex. As summarized in Table 3, each pluralism view yields unique intergroup dynamics, specific perspectives toward ecumenism, varied responses to religious accommodation, and particular methods for coping with interfaith interaction. This complexity has implications for the military chaplaincy. Diverse responses to pluralism and accommodation by military chaplains are likely to influence the chaplaincy’s efforts to provide religious support for Service personnel and may create some discord within the chaplaincy itself.

Table 3

The Interaction Between Religious Pluralism View and Religious Accommodation

	Exclusivism (Exclusivists)	Tolerance (Egalitarians)	Interdependence (Non-dualists)
Intergroup dynamic	Perceives intergroup (faith) competition Outgroup derogation Intergroup (faith) anxiety	Favors intergroup (faith) cooperation Subtle prejudice Interpersonal conflict	Reflects group permeability Non-exclusive unity Interfaith harmony
Attitude toward ecumenism	Rejects	Favors	Embodies
Attitude toward religious accommodation	Resists	Champions	Seeks acceptance
Interfaith coping strategy	Avoidance and justification	Compromise with limits	Transcend boundaries

A “Pluralism” Dialogue

In developing this analysis, a series of informal discussions occurred with six military chaplains, one Catholic and five Protestant, of various denominations. The group included chaplains from two different Services and a reserve component. Each spoke freely about his experiences as a chaplain and his perspective on pluralism within the military chaplaincy. Even among this small group, disparate views of religious pluralism were revealed. While most seemed to adhere to the tolerance view, others appeared to subscribe to exclusivism ideals. Also apparent were divergent views among different denominations. It appears that “pluralism” issues within the chaplaincy are driven as much by interdenominational differences as interfaith diversity.

On balance, most of the chaplains agreed that facilitating religious freedom was one of their primary responsibilities. They stressed that chaplains must be able to allow others the free exercise of their faith, irrespective of whether they agree or disagree with others’ beliefs. As one chaplain stated, “I am sworn to uphold the Constitution. That is why I put on this uniform.” Yet, another chaplain expressed concern that the chaplaincy placed too much emphasis on

“political correctness,” which he suggested forced chaplains to suppress their faith beliefs. For example, several of the chaplains recalled a situation where they were asked to remove the Bibles from the pews of the base chapel for a Jewish wedding. Some viewed this accommodation as part of their duty. Another, however, felt yielding to this accommodation was a compromise of faith beliefs. This chaplain also indicated a degree of discomfort interacting with clergy of different faiths, reflecting the interfaith anxiety most likely to be experienced by exclusivists.

During the discussions, the chaplains pointed to interdenominational discord as an equally important concern within the chaplaincy. It appears that faith group identity among chaplains (e.g., Christian, Jewish, Muslim) is yielding to “denominational” group identity (e.g., Evangelical, Episcopalian, Methodist), adding another dimension to the already complex pluralism issue. Certain religious practices among some religions are not shared by all denominations. Consequently, there is disagreement about what duties a chaplain should or should not perform. For instance, the chaplains explained that liturgical denominations such as Methodist, Episcopal, and Lutheran baptize babies into their faith, granting “membership” at the time of baptism. Whereas, non-liturgical denominations such as Pentecostal and Evangelical do not believe in baby baptism and instead require a personal (verbal) profession of faith beliefs (at any age) for adoption into the church body. Since chaplains are not required to perform any duty that contradicts the tenets of their faith, the chaplains whose faith beliefs do not allow baby baptism generally opt to identify another chaplain who could comply with a military person’s request. Thus, while this group of chaplains demonstrated a basic tolerance for other religions and a willingness to accommodate different religious practices, they also placed limits on the extent of their compromise.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the pluralism dialogue was the various ways in which these chaplains balanced commitment to their faith with loyalty to the military. Some admitted struggling with becoming a “religious chameleon” while trying to do their job and stay true to their faith. This struggle is most evident in the issue of public prayer – a very delicate subject for the chaplaincy. Chaplains are called upon to pray at numerous military occasions such as changes of command, retirement ceremonies, memorial observances, command meetings, etc. (Public Prayer, <http://www.sheppard.af.mil/82trwhc/ppryxg.htm>). The challenge is whether chaplains should pray according to the tenets of their faith or pray in a more neutral manner to be sensitive to the diverse beliefs of those present during an occasion.

One approach described by the chaplains is to close a prayer by saying, “In the Name of Our Lord,” with the understanding that “Our Lord” may mean different things to different people. For instance, Muslims may interpret “Our Lord” as meaning Allah, whereas Jehovah Witnesses may interpret “Our Lord” to mean Jehovah or Yahweh. Another manner in which these chaplains address the challenge of public prayer is by making the distinction between mandatory assemblies such as change of command and award ceremonies and voluntary occasions such as a group meeting. In the latter setting, chaplains are typically asked to represent their faith and, therefore, pray according to the tenets of their faith beliefs. In public settings, chaplains are participating in a religious tradition of the military and, instead, pray in a manner that is inclusive rather than exclusive.

Importantly, not all of the chaplains in this group adopted these compromise strategies. Some felt that closing a prayer in a manner different from the tenets of their faith infringed upon their rights to religious liberty and the freedom to express their faith beliefs. Their solution is to incorporate inclusive language in the text of the prayer, while closing the prayer according to their specific beliefs. Other chaplains limit their participation in activities that may require a compromise altogether. Still others are organizationally aligned with their particular faith group, thereby shielding themselves from interfaith activities that would require religious sensitivity.

Together, the chaplains who participated in the dialogue provided a number of interesting insights into the pluralism issue within the military chaplaincy. They also pointed to additional concerns such as the declining number of Catholic priests, the increasing discord between liturgical and evangelical chaplains, pay as factor in recruitment and retention, and differences between military instructions and endorser requirements. Despite the pressures some felt as a result of functioning in a religiously pluralistic environment, most emphasized their duty to provide for religious freedom. As one stated, “We must be able to separate ourselves from what others need . . . *providing* ministry is our constitutional obligation.”

Organizational Challenges for the Chaplaincy

Organizations adjusting to religiously diverse work environments will likely experience some tension between work and religion among its members (Bennett, 2001). The military chaplaincy is no exception. In the chaplaincy, the tension created by religious accommodation is compounded by the chaplain’s dual obligation to the military organization and their ecclesiastical endorser. At times, requirements from the two organizational entities may conflict. On the one hand, chaplains are required by law to provide religious ministry to military service personnel, regardless of faith. This is their functional role responsibility. On the other hand, as determined by their faith beliefs, the chaplain’s ecclesiastical endorser may dictate what functions their chaplains should and should not perform. This is their faith role responsibility. Chaplains must, therefore, reconcile commitment to their faith with loyalty to their country.

For example, while the military discourages chaplains from proselytizing about their faith beliefs with the purpose of converting others who are affiliated, chaplains retain the right to evangelize (The Covenant and Code of Ethics, 1995). For some faith groups, however, proselytizing is a key component of their faith doctrine and encouraged by the ecclesiastical endorser. Some endorsers view the prohibition of proselytizing as an infringement upon their chaplain’s rights to religious liberty (Loveland, 1996). As a compromise, some chaplains from these faith groups restrict their proselytizing to religious settings (e.g., worship services) – despite the many opportunities to proselytize during counseling – in order to maintain their accountability to both the military and their endorsers’ faith.

In addition to variance between the military chaplaincy and ecclesiastical endorsers, the chaplaincy organization may continue to experience some discord among chaplains of different faiths. In 1993, for example, the Armed Forces Chaplaincy Board accessioned its first Muslim chaplain (Elasser, 1999). While hailed as a bold step toward greater religious diversity within the military, the action was objectionable to some chaplains because beliefs of Islam contradicted their faith beliefs. Reflective of the exclusivism perspective, some chaplains view the growing

religious diversity within the chaplaincy as a threat to their faith group and faith beliefs (Loveland, 1996). To defuse some of the tension, the chaplaincy has a policy of “cooperative pluralism” in which chaplains agree to cooperate with one another without compromising their religious beliefs (Lovland, 1996). The philosophy emphasizes ecumenical understanding while discouraging narrow sectarian views (Loveland, 1996). Cooperative pluralism is incorporated into chaplaincy training programs and endorsers are required to select persons for the chaplaincy who are willing to work in cooperation with chaplains from different faiths (Department of Defense, 1993).

In general, the chaplaincy has adopted a strong stance towards the rights of individuals to practice their faith. As an organization, the chaplaincy is equally committed to embracing religious diversity among chaplains. This commitment is reflected in the decision to sanction chaplain insignia representative of diverse religious beliefs. Chaplains wear insignia that represent different faith beliefs such as the Cross (Christianity), Tablets (Judaism), Crescent (Islam) and the Wheel (Buddhists). This action is indicative of the chaplaincy’s dedication to religious freedom within the chaplaincy organization and the military community.

Conclusion

In this era of multiculturalism, religious diversity has emerged as a critical issue within organizations (Bennett, 2001). Increasingly, organizations are amending their diversity policies and practices to accommodate the diverse religious beliefs of their workers (Anonymous, 2000). Like its civilian counterparts, the military also is striving to accommodate the growing faith groups among its ranks (Elsasser, 1999). The context of religious diversity in the military is perhaps most challenging for military chaplains. Although endorsed representatives of their respective faith groups, chaplains are required to operate in religiously diverse environments. This unique dual position may, at times, present a tension between being faithful to their own faith beliefs and the requirement to accommodate the beliefs of others. This conflict may be exacerbated by the chaplain’s views of religious pluralism and related attitudes and behaviors as a result of those views.

The literature suggests that three views of religious pluralism – exclusivism, tolerance, and interdependence – are likely to result in unique responses to religious accommodation. These varied consequences were evident in the conversations with the six military chaplains. The chaplains revealed different levels of tolerance and willingness to support religious accommodation. The discussions suggested that most military chaplains are likely to adopt a tolerance perspective, demonstrating their commitment to religious freedom. Chaplains who adhere to the exclusivism view, by comparison, are likely to be the minority. However, exclusivism may be growing as the representation of certain faith groups in the military increases and others decrease. Additionally, non-dualist chaplains representing “non-mainstream” faiths may continue to feel marginalized because of the lack of acceptance of their faith doctrines (Loveland, 1996). In all, an understanding of the diverse views of religious pluralism in the military context is fundamental to supporting and advancing an equal opportunity environment for all members, including members of the chaplaincy.

This paper just “taps” the surface of an important issue for the military. The analysis attempted to frame the issues facing the chaplaincy within the theoretical context of religious pluralism views. There are perhaps numerous areas for future research on this topic. First, a more extensive study involving personal interviews with military chaplains, along with a comprehensive survey, across Services, faiths, and denominations would highlight the diversity of opinions and experiences on the subject of pluralism. Second, with respect to religious accommodation, it would be important to assess quantitatively how the military is meeting its accommodation objectives. Ultimately, this line of research could be helpful for forming policy and determining the future direction of the chaplaincy.

Author’s Note: It would seem that all of us who profess commitment to a particular faith belief have some degree of exclusivist in us. Otherwise, how then would we justify our own faith beliefs? At the same time, we exist in a multicultural, pluralistic society, which at a minimum requires a respect for different individuals, even if we disagree with their religious beliefs (or lack thereof). As a wise person said recently, “We must learn to disagree without being disagreeable.”

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Using Item Response Theory to Shorten Scales

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Abstract

Item response theory (IRT) is a technique for analyzing scales. The assumptions and procedures of IRT are described. Applications are then made to the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey for purposes of revision and updating.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Using Item Response Theory to Shorten Scales

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Item response theory (IRT)¹ has a long history, probably beginning with the work of Lord (1952). It provides an alternative to classical test theory by determining the difficulty of items independently of individuals' performance, by determining the ability of individuals independently of a test's items, by not requiring parallel versions of the same test, and by determining more precisely an individual's ability.

In classical test theory, it is assumed that a person's score on a test (x) is the result of a true test score (t) and error (e), i.e.,

$$x_{ij} = t_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

Thus, there is an inseparable link between a person's score and the test given. The ability of a person is defined in terms of the difficulty of the items on the test, but the difficulty of the items is defined in terms of the person's ability as shown on the test. This circularity creates several problems.

First, it is difficult to compare the performance of two individuals on different versions of a test. Even if there are parallel forms of the same test, there will be differences in the amount of error that contributes to each person's score. Second, the reliability of a test is typically defined by the correlation between parallel forms of the test, which is difficult to establish. Third, the standard error of measurement is assumed to be the same for each individual, a difficult assumption to meet.

IRT eliminates these problems by examining performance at the item level. The earliest work on IRT was done with dichotomous items (i.e., there is a correct response and an incorrect response). From the pattern of responses, an estimate of a person's latent ability (θ) can be calculated, usually scaled with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Items can then be examined to determine their discrimination (a) and their difficulty (b). In this way, the relationship between persons' latent ability and their performance on a set of items can be presented as an ogive curve called an item characteristic curve (ICC) or item characteristic function.

IRT makes two key assumptions. First, the items that make up the test or scale must be *unidimensional*, i.e., they measure only one ability. The unidimensionality of a set of items is

¹ For a good review of item response theory, see Hambleton, Swaminathan, & Rogers, 1991.

usually established by factor analysis or a similar technique. Second, there is *local independence* among the responses, i.e., once the latent ability is controlled for, there is no relationship between a person's responses to different items.

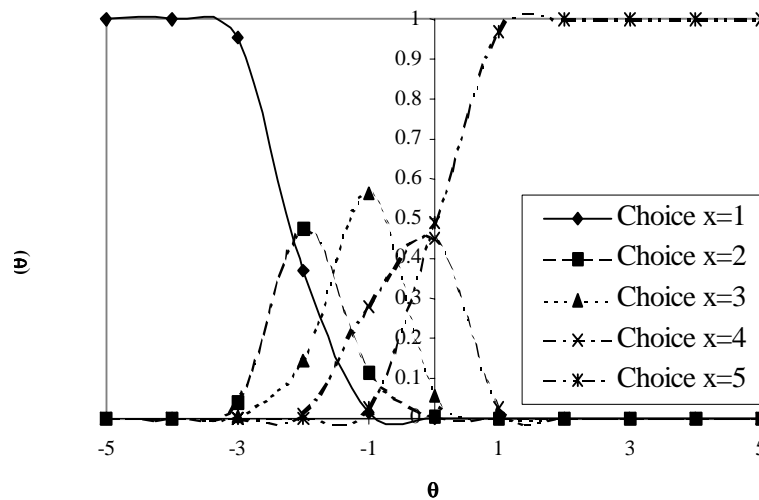
From the early work with dichotomous items, applications of IRT to tests with polytomous responses, such as multiple-choice and Likert-type scales, ensued. The earliest of these was Samejima's (1969, 1997) graded response model. This model assumes that the categories of responses can be ordered, such as $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$ where n is the highest level of response. It uses the formula below to calculate what are called category response functions for each choice for a particular item (see Figure 1 for an example).

$$P(x = i) = \frac{1}{(1 + e^{-Da(\theta - b(i))}) - \frac{1}{(1 + e^{-Da(\theta - b(i-1))})}}$$

where

- $P(x = i)$ is the probability of a person giving response i ;
 e is a transcendental number equal to 2.718;
 D is a constant equal to 1.7 used to produce ogive curves
 a is the discrimination of the item as represented by the slope of the ICC;
 θ is the latent ability or trait;
 b_i is the difficulty of the item as represented by point at which on the θ -axis response i passes the 50% threshold.

Figure 1
Category Response Functions for MEOCS 39 for MEOCS Standard



From these category response functions for each item in a set of items, the ICC can be calculated using the formula below.

$$P(\theta) = \frac{1}{(1 + e^{-Da(\theta - b)})}$$

There have been a number of applications of IRT to EO. Donovan and Drasgow (1999) used IRT to demonstrate the Department of Defense's Sexual Experiences Questionnaire did not function the same for men and women. Stark, Chernyshenko, and Drasgow (1999) demonstrated that IRT could be used to shorten the same questionnaire from 23 items to 16 items. In this study Stark et al. (1999) used Samejima's Graded Response IRT model (Samejima, 1969) in a four-step process to fit the data: establishing unidimensionality, ensuring an adequate number of responses per item option, estimating parameters, and establishing model-data fit. This report attempts to follow that process.

Establishing unidimensionality involves items that can be grouped into independent dimensions. Earlier work has established this for the MEOCS by the use of factor analysis (Dansby & Landis, 1991) and by cluster analysis (Truhon, 1998, 1999). Ensuring an adequate number of responses per item option involves examining items for skew and combining response categories as necessary. The MULTILOG computer program (Thissen, 1991) is used to estimate item parameters.

There have been attempts to measure the goodness of fit of IRT models. While procedures exist for the case where one parameter is estimated (i.e., a the discriminability parameter), there are problems in the two-parameter (i.e., a and b , the difficulty parameter) and the three-parameter (i.e., a , b , and c , a guessing parameter) cases (van der Linden & Hambleton, 1997). It was hoped to find an acceptable measure of fit by using a cross-validation procedure. One idea was to take the expected frequencies derived from the calibration sample and using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (Siegel, 1956), apply them to validation sample. A significant D occurs if it exceeds $1.36/\sqrt{N}$ where N is the sample. With the sample sizes reported here, a D of .01 would be significant. As a result, cross-validation was not performed in these analyses.

The purpose of the current study was to apply IRT to the five versions of the MEOCS: the Standard MEOCS, the MEOCS-Less Intensive, Truncated Version (LITE), the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (SLEOCS), the MEOCS-Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO), and the Small Unit Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (SUEOCS). The results of these analyses would be used to reduce the scales to five items with a minimum reliability of .75.

Method

All the data available in June 2000 from the databases of the Standard MEOCS, the MEOCS-LITE, the SLEOCS, the MEOCS-EEO, and the SUEOCS were analyzed. I eliminated cases with missing values. In the hopes of applying cross-validation to these results, a fraction of these remaining cases were used (In most cases, half, except with the large sample for the Standard MEOCS only about five percent, were selected).

Results and Discussion

In my previous study (Truhon, 1999), I devised a table similar to Table 1 to compare the scales across the different versions of the MEOCS. What is presented in Table 1 involves using the results of IRT analyses of these scales to determine whether an acceptable reduced scale (i.e., five items with discrimination indices above 1 and an internal consistency of .75) can be

produced. **Acceptable** means that the scale meets these criteria, **marginal** means that the scale barely meets the criteria or barely misses the criteria, **unacceptable** means that the scale clearly does not meet one or more criteria. When fewer than five items are listed, that means that the scale meets or comes close to meeting the other criteria with fewer than five items. A blank indicates that the particular scale does not exist for this particular version of the MEOCS.

Table 1
Evaluation of DEOMI Survey Instruments and Scales

<u>Scale</u>	<u>MEOCS</u> <u>(Standard)</u>	<u>MEOCS-</u> <u>LITE</u>	<u>SLEOCS</u>	<u>MEOCS-</u> <u>EEO</u>	<u>SUEOCS</u>
Sexual Harassment & Discrimination	Acceptable	4 acceptable items	4 acceptable items	Acceptable	
Differential Command Behavior towards Minorities & Women	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Positive EO Behavior	Acceptable	Acceptable	4 acceptable items	Acceptable	Marginal
Racist/Sexist Behavior	Marginal	4 acceptable items	4 acceptable items	Acceptable	3 acceptable items
Reverse Discrimination (Behavior)	Acceptable	4 acceptable items	4 acceptable items	4 marginal items	Marginal
(Positive) Commitment	Acceptable	Acceptable		Acceptable	4 acceptable items
Lack of Commitment	Marginal				
Perceived Work Group Effectiveness	Acceptable	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable
Job Satisfaction	Acceptable	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable
Discrimination against Minorities & Women	Acceptable				
Reverse Discrimination (Attitude)	Marginal				
Attitudes toward Racial/Gender Separatism	Acceptable				
Positive Racial Climate	Unacceptable				
General EO Climate	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
EO's Link to Leadership & Readiness		Acceptable	Marginal		

Success of EO Programs		4 acceptable items	4 acceptable items		
Importance of EO		Unacceptable	Unacceptable		
EO Issues concerning Relationships between Groups		Acceptable			
Concerns about Discrimination		Acceptable	Acceptable		
EO Issues concerning Relationships between Racial/Ethnic Groups			Acceptable		
EO Issues concerning Relationships between the Sexes			Acceptable		
Positive vs. Negative Interpersonal Behavior			Acceptable		
Work-Related Interactions			Unacceptable		
Active vs. Passive Behavior			Unacceptable		
Age Discrimination				4 acceptable items	
Religious & Disabled Discriminatory Behavior				Acceptable	
Institutional Discrimination				4 marginal items	
Positive EEO Behavior				Unacceptable	
Traditional Attitudes toward Women				4 marginal items	
Trust in the Organization				3 acceptable items	
Work Group Cohesion				4 acceptable items	
Leadership Cohesion				4 acceptable items	

Personal Sexist Attitudes & Beliefs					Marginal
Racist Attitudes in the Unit					4 marginal items
Personal Attitudes toward EO					Acceptable
Acceptance of Diversity					Unacceptable
Personal Feelings regarding Verbal Abuse of Women & Minorities					3 marginal items

Using this table, scales across the five versions of the MEOCS can be categorized as acceptable, possibly acceptable, marginal, and unacceptable. **Acceptable** scales appear on at least four versions of the MEOCS, usually consist of at least four items with discrimination indices above 1, and have an internal consistency of at least .75. **Possibly acceptable** scales appear on one or two versions of the MEOCS, consist of at least four items with discrimination indices above 1, and have an internal consistency of at least .75. **Marginal** scales appear on one or two versions of the MEOCS, contain items with discrimination indices close to 1, or have an internal consistency close to .75. **Unacceptable** scales appear on one or two versions of MEOCS and have several items with discrimination indices well below 1 or have an internal consistency well below .75. These categories can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2
Categorizing MEOCS Scales Using Item Response Theory

<u>Acceptable</u>	<u>Possibly Acceptable</u>	<u>Marginal</u>	<u>Unacceptable</u>
Sexual Harassment and Discrimination	Discrimination against Minorities and Women	Lack of Commitment	Positive Racial Climate
Differential Command Behavior towards Minorities and Women	Attitudes toward Racial/Gender Separatism	Reverse Discrimination (Attitude)	Importance of EO
Positive EO Behavior	Success of EO Programs	EO's Link to Leadership and Readiness	Work-Related Interactions
Racist/Sexist Behavior	Concerns about Discrimination	Positive vs. Negative Interpersonal Behavior	Active vs. Passive Behavior
Reverse Discrimination (Behavior)	EO Issues concerning Relationships between Racial/Ethnic Groups	Institutional Discrimination	Positive Equal Employment Opportunity Behavior

(Positive) Commitment	EO Issues concerning Relationships between the Sexes	Traditional Attitudes toward Women	Acceptance of Diversity
Perceived Work Group Effectiveness	Age Discrimination	Personal Sexist Attitudes and Beliefs	
Job Satisfaction	Religious and Disabled Discriminatory Behavior	Racist Attitudes in the Unit	
General EO Climate	Trust in the Organization	Personal Feelings regarding Verbal Abuse of Women and Minorities	
	Work Group Cohesion		
	Leadership Cohesion		
	Personal Attitudes toward EO		

Other Findings

The IRT analysis of the different versions of the MEOCS demonstrates the quality with which the MEOCS has been constructed. Generally discrimination indices (a 's) of 1 or better are considered good and a 's greater than 2 are considered rare (Hambleton et al., 1991). For the five versions of the MEOCS the vast majority of the items have a 's greater than 1 and frequently greater than 2.

In addition, there is a great deal of similarity between items selected as the best by means of cluster analysis in my previous report (Truhon, 1999) and those by means of IRT. The current study supports the idea that cluster analysis is a good technique for examining the quality of test items. One might be tempted to suggest that cluster analysis be used in these situations because of its ease of use instead of IRT. However, IRT provides a statistical indicator of the quality of items while cluster analysis cannot do so directly.

Directions for Future Research

IRT can be used to examine differences in the structure of scales across groups. For example, Donovan and Drasgow (1999) reported on a procedure in IRT called differential test functioning (DTF; Raju, van der Linden, & Fleer, 1995) that can be used to examine the measurement equivalence across groups. This technique can help determine whether the difference in response is merely in the mean level of response or in how each group thinks about the latent construct. DTF can also be used to determine if equivalence can occur if some items are eliminated from a test or scale.

The DTF technique can be applied to research with the MEOCS. McIntyre (in press) reported that there were similarities and differences between sociocultural groups' responses to

the MEOCS. Johnson (in press) reported on racial and gender differences in military personnel's responses to the five-factor model of personality. Dansby (1996, 1998) has reported that senior leaders perceive less of problem in EO than do lower-ranked military personnel. IRT and DTF could be used to examine the nature of these differences.

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**Study Conducted on the Attitudes
and Perceptions with Regard to Integration of Gays
and Lesbians in the Department
of Defence (South Africa)**

Major Benedictor Tlou
South African Department of Defence

Abstract

This study was conducted at the request of Chief Director Equal Opportunities and conducted by Sub-directorate Effect Analysis among the personnel of the South African Department of Defence (DOD). The information was collected by means of a structure omnibus questionnaire. The aim of the survey was to obtain information on the attitudes, perceptions and concerns of the personnel of the Department of Defence regarding the integration of gays and lesbians in the DOD.

Opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be construed to represent the official position of DEOMI, the military Services, or the Department of Defense.

Study Conducted on the Attitudes and Perceptions with Regard to Integration of Gays and Lesbians in the Department of Defence (South Africa)

Major Benedictor Tlou
South African Department of Defence

Introduction

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is the supreme law of the country and therefore conduct and laws inconsistent with the Constitution are invalid. Chapter two of the Constitution is the Bill of Rights, which is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

According to the clause on equality Section 9 (3), “the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, *sexual orientation*, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

Currently the Department of Defence is drafting a Code of Good Employment Practice regarding sexual orientation in the workplace. The policy is at an advanced stage of drafting and input is being put forth by Non-Governmental Organisations such as the Gay and Lesbian Project.

According to the Department of Defence policy on non-discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, the Defence Force does not judge sexual orientation in terms of right or wrong, nor makes any value judgement in this regard, but accepts differences in sexual orientation as a given. The policy is necessary to combat discrimination in the organisation based on sexual orientation.

Rationale for the Study

We acknowledge the fact that the DOD is an integral part of the South African society and that gays and lesbians are only different in terms of their sexual preference. We therefore acknowledge that as an employer, we have members and employees of all sexual orientations.

Gays and lesbians were definitely discriminated against in the past and the Constitution and other legal prescripts on human rights issued since 1994 have prompted the DOD to do some introspection in terms of its working environment. We normally do this by means of surveys and the issue of perceptions regarding gays and lesbians in the DOD was no exception.

Background of the Study

The study was conducted at the request of Chief Director Equal Opportunities and conducted by Sub-directorate Effect Analysis among the personnel of the South African Department of Defence (DOD). The information was collected by means of a structured omnibus questionnaire.

The aim of the survey was to obtain information on the attitudes, perceptions and concerns of the personnel of the Department of Defence regarding the integration of gays and lesbians in the DOD.

A total of 2,648 persons completed the questionnaire. A comparison of the sample characteristics with those of the DOD indicates that the sample is fairly representative as far as service/division, rank group, gender, former force and population group are concerned.

The variables used during the study are; service/division, rank group, former force and population group.

The following themes were covered during the survey:

I feel good about the integration of gays and lesbians in the military.

I do not mind having a co-worker who is gay or lesbian.

I do not mind having an office commander/manager who is gay or lesbian.

I do not mind sharing mess facilities with gays and lesbians.

The integration of gays and lesbians in the SANDF will lead to a loss of military effectiveness.

Gays and lesbians are less suited for duty in the military than heterosexual (straight) persons.

Gays and lesbians as leaders do not demand the same respect and obedience from subordinates as heterosexual leaders.

Gays and lesbians in the military will undermine social cohesion (togetherness).

Gays and lesbians are morally weaker than the heterosexual people.

Executive Summary

Only one quarter of the total sample agree/strongly agree that they feel good about the integration of gays and lesbians in the military, about the same fraction (26,5%) is undecided on the issue. The corresponding percentage for respondents in the office of the Secretary for Defence is more than 50,0%. See Figure 1 and 2.

Figure 1. I feel good about the integration of gays and lesbians in the military

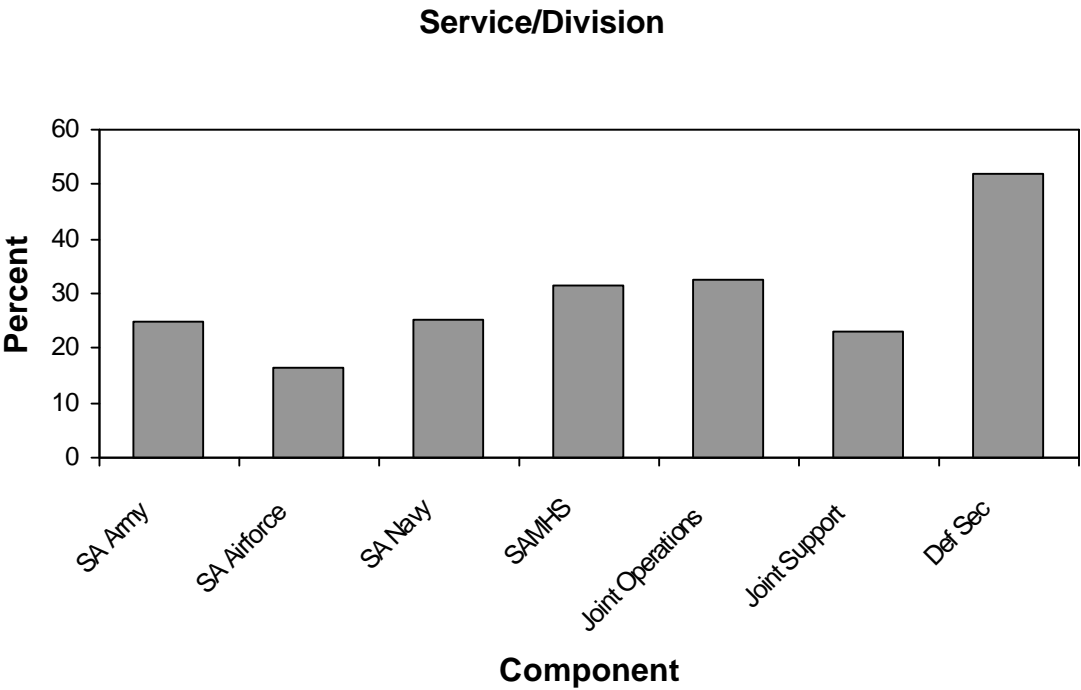
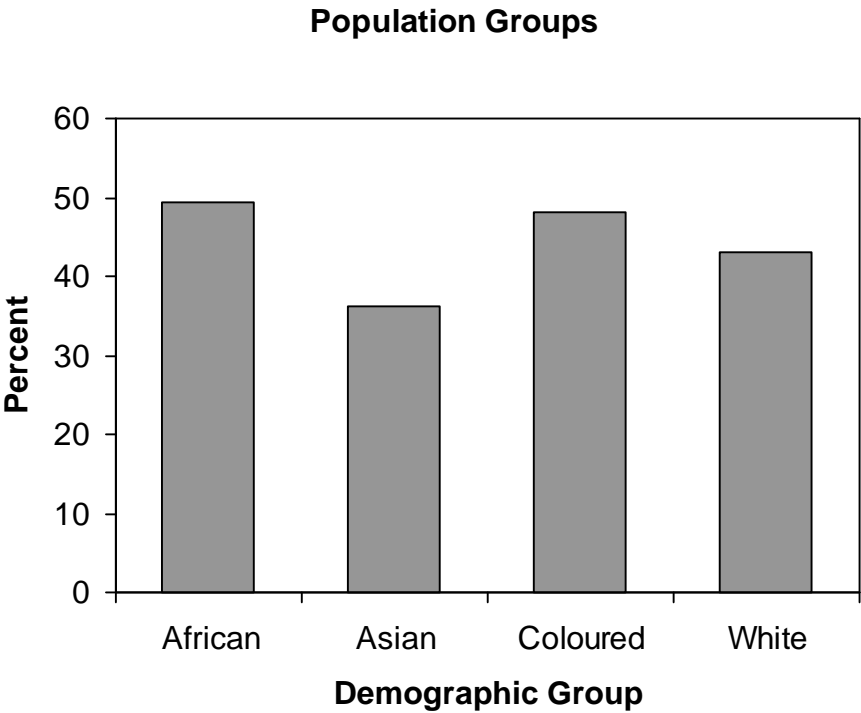


Figure 2. I feel good about the integration of gays and lesbians in the military (Population groups).



Fewer than half of the respondents of the total sample (49,7%) agree/strongly agree that they do not mind their co-worker being gay or lesbian. The greatest percentages of “agree/strongly agree” responses were obtained from office of the Secretary for Defence (82,0%); Asians (69,1%) and South African Military Health Service (SAMHS) 63,2%. However, it must be noted that as many as one-third of the respondents disagree/strongly disagree with the statement. See Figures 3 and 4.

Figure 3. I do not mind having a co-worker who is gay or lesbian (Service/division)

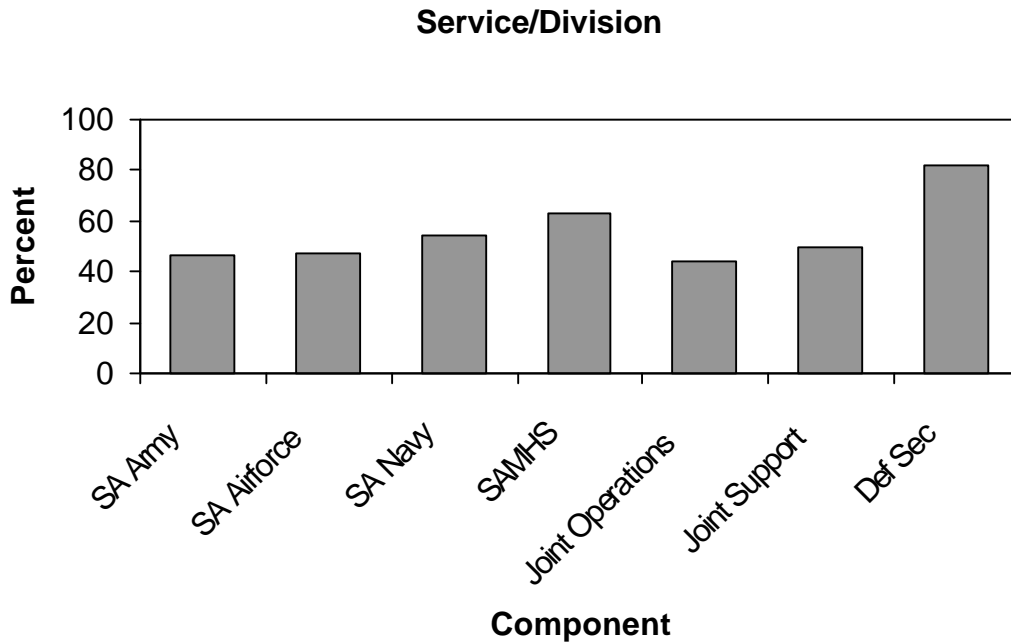
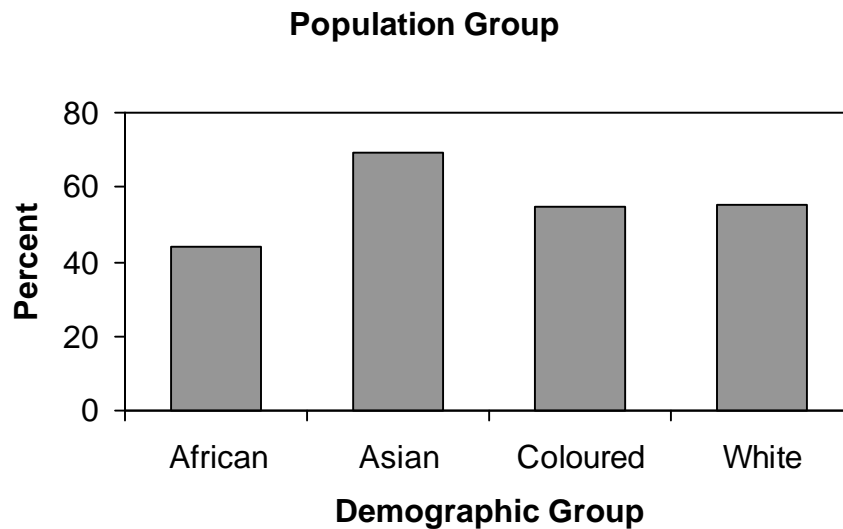


Figure 4. I do not mind having a co-worker who is gay or lesbian (Population Group).



Forty-point-five (40,5%) percent of the total number of the respondents agree/strongly with the statement; I do not mind having an officer commanding/manager being gay or lesbian. (A slightly greater proportion, namely 42,7% disagrees /strongly disagrees with the statement). Particular respondents in the following sub-groups agree with the statement; Secretary for Defence (74,0%), and SAMHS (54,2%). See Figures 5 and 6.

Figure 5. I do not mind having an officer commanding/manager being gay or lesbian
(Service/division)

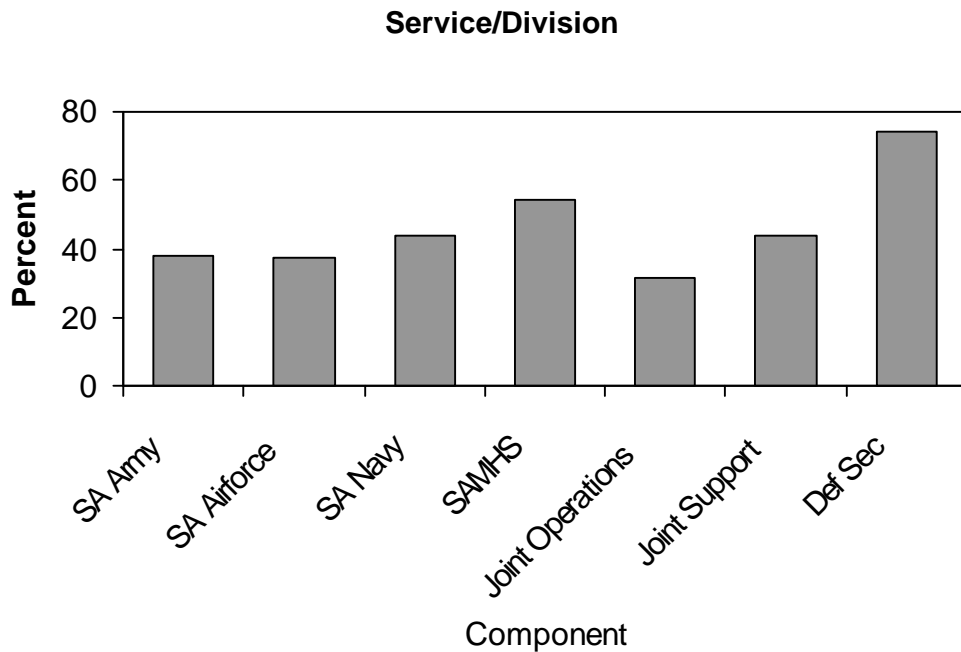
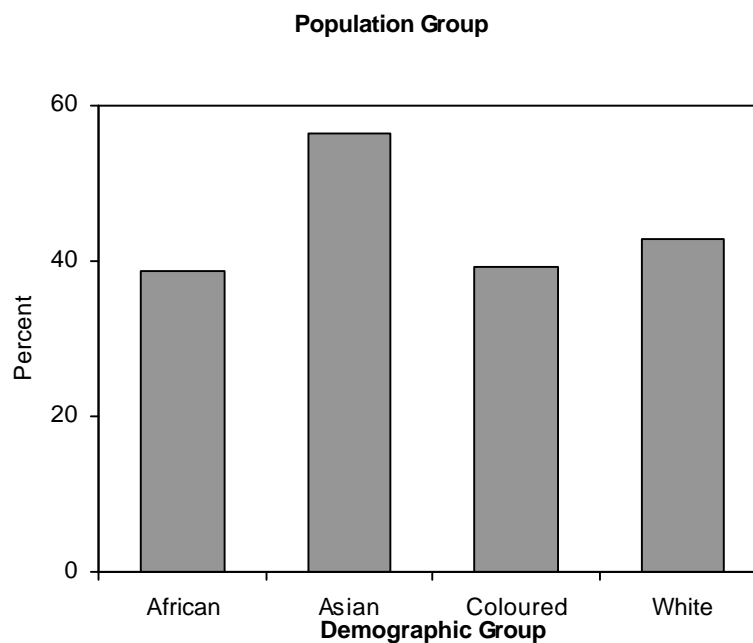


Figure 6. I do not mind having an officer commanding/manager being gay or lesbian
(Population)



Half of the total sample (51,7%) agree/strongly agree that they do not mind sharing mess facilities with gays and lesbians. However, as many as 30,6% disagree/strongly disagree with the idea of sharing mess facilities with gays and lesbians. The largest number of affirmative responses (agree/strongly agree) were registered for the SAMHS (59,2%), Secretary for Defence (72,0%), members who joined the Defence force for the first time after 1994 (60,2%) and Asians (62,9%). See Figures 7 and 8.

Figure 7. I do not mind sharing mess facilities with gays and lesbians (Service/division).

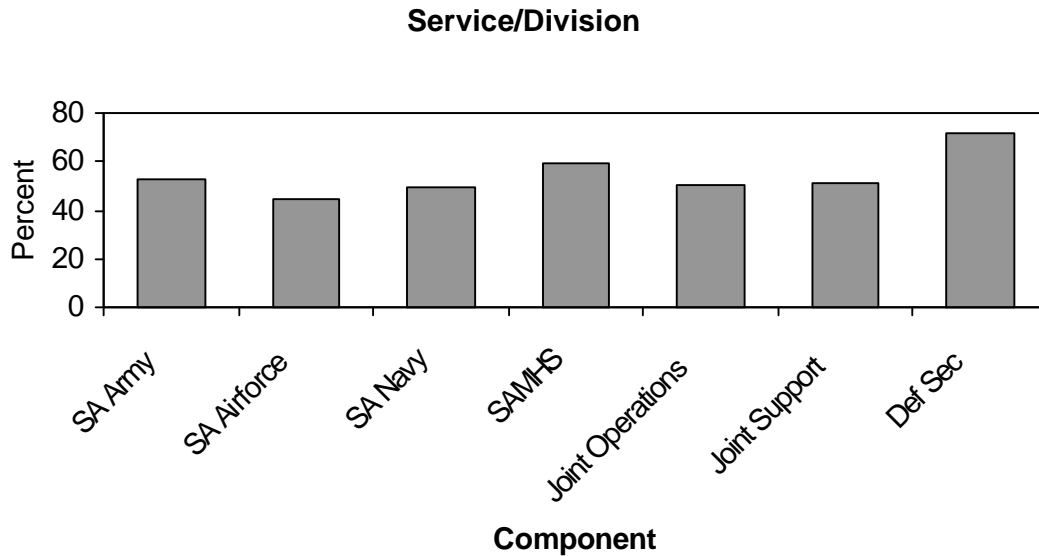
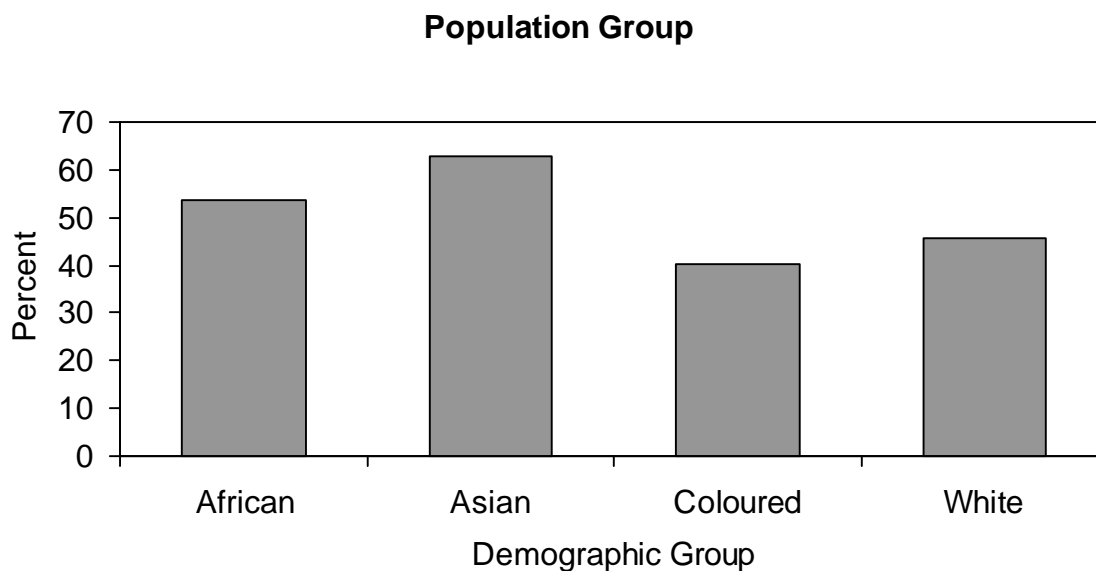


Figure 8. I do not mind sharing mess facilities with gays and lesbians (Population Group).



A fairly high percentage of the total number of respondents (46,9%) feel that the integration of gays and lesbians in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) will lead to a loss of military effectiveness. Particularly the SA Army with 51,3% responded that the integration of gays and lesbians in the SANDF would lead to a loss of military effectiveness. However, more than half of the respondents in the SAMHS (55,3%) and office of the Secretary for Defence 58,8%) hold the opposite opinion. It is equally interesting to note that a fairly high percentage of the respondents indicated that they are unsure (between 11,1 and 27,3%). See Figure 9 and 10.

Figure 9. The integration of gays and lesbians in the SANDF will lead to a loss of military effectiveness (Service/division).

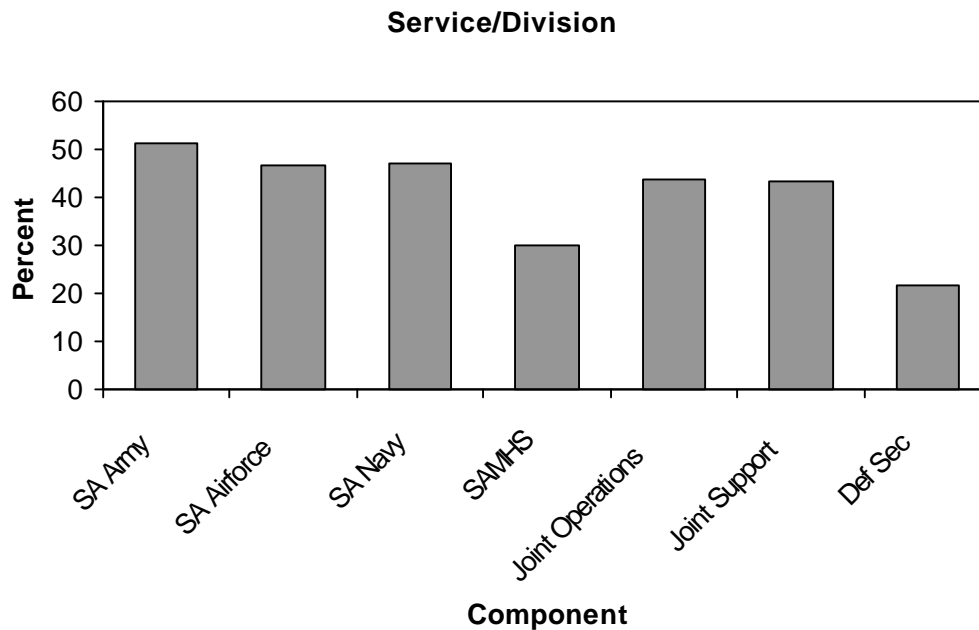
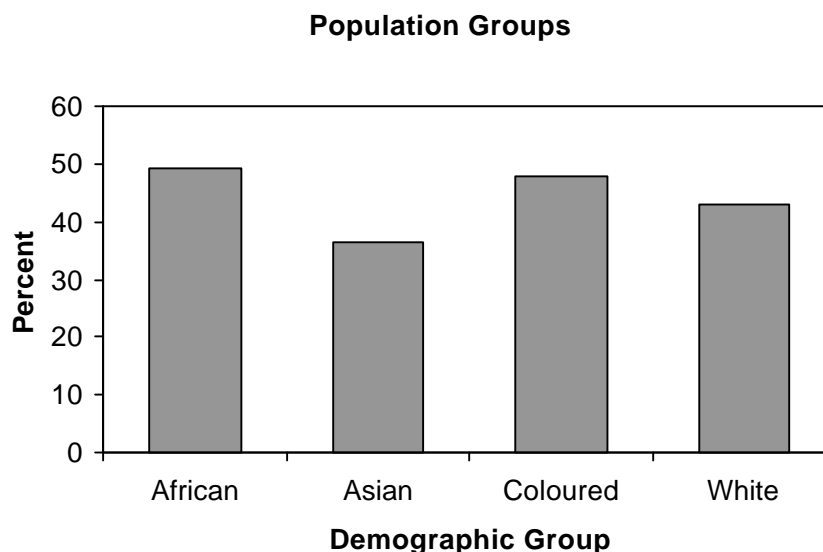


Figure 10. The integration of gays and lesbians in the SANDF will lead to a loss of military effectiveness (Population Group)



The total sample is clearly divided on the issue of the suitability of gays and lesbians in the military. 39,9% agree/strongly agree, while 39,1% disagree/strongly disagree that gays and lesbians are less suited for duty in the military than heterosexual persons. One fifth (20,9%) indicated that they were unsure of their responses. Respondents of the SAMHS (59,4%) and office of the Secretary for Defence are more inclined to **disagree** while the respondents of the SA Army, members with lower ranks, former Trankei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei Defence Force members as well as Africans, are more inclined to **agree** that gays and lesbians are less suited for duty in the military. See Figure 11 and 12.

Figure 11. Gays and lesbians are less suited for duty in the military than heterosexual (straight) persons (Services/Divisions).

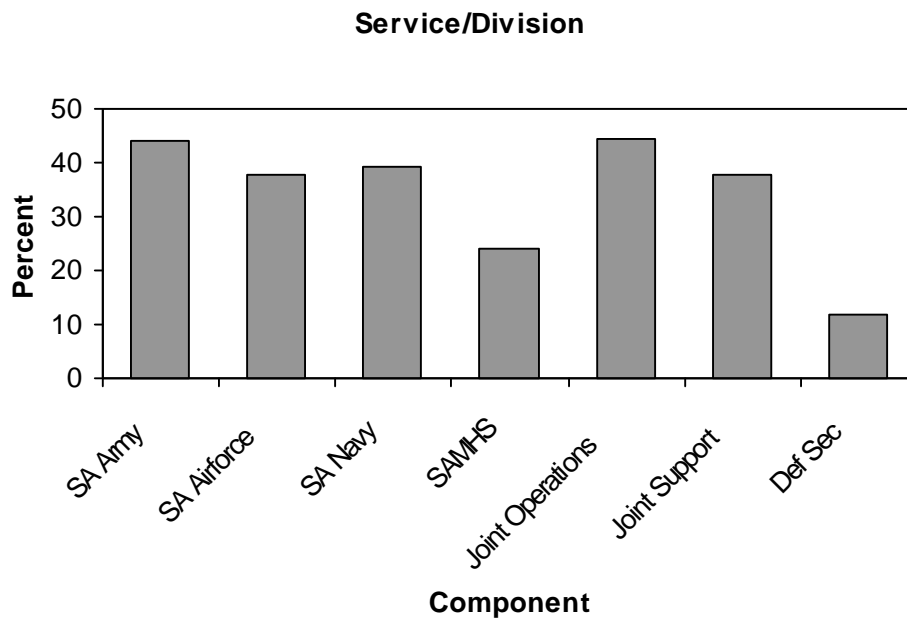
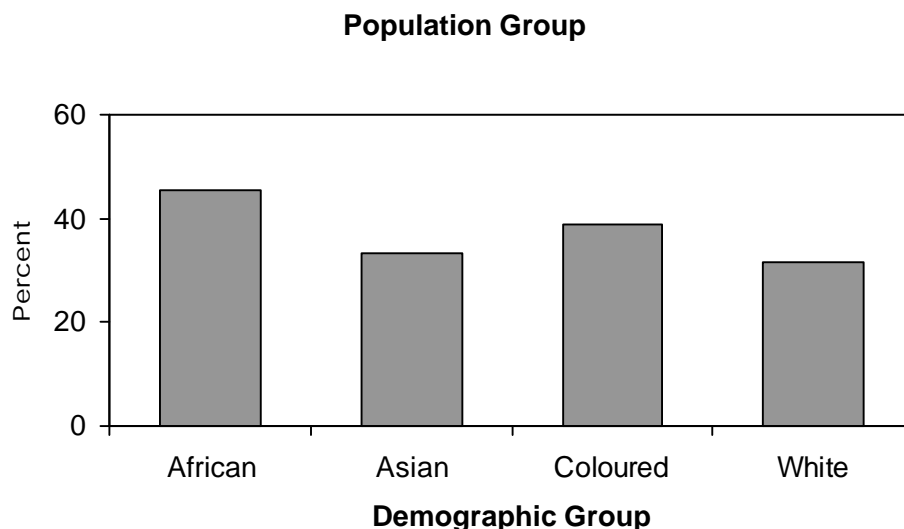


Figure 12. Gays and lesbians are less suited for duty in the military than heterosexual (straight) persons (Population Group).



The respondents of the total sample are also divided in their reactions to the statement: Gays and lesbians as leaders do not demand the same respect and obedience from subordinates as heterosexual leaders. 39,8% agree/strongly agree and 34,4% disagree/strongly disagree with the statement. 25,8% responded in the “uncertain” category. Officers, Warrant officers, members of the SA Army, Joint Operations and Joint Support, former SADF members and Whites are more inclined to agree than to disagree with the statement. On the other hand, 62,0% of the respondents of the office of the Secretary for Defence disagree with the idea that gays and lesbians do not demand the same respect and obedience from their subordinates as heterosexual leaders. See Figure 13 and 14.

Figure 13. Gays and lesbians as leaders do not demand the same respect and obedience from subordinates as heterosexual leaders (Service/division)

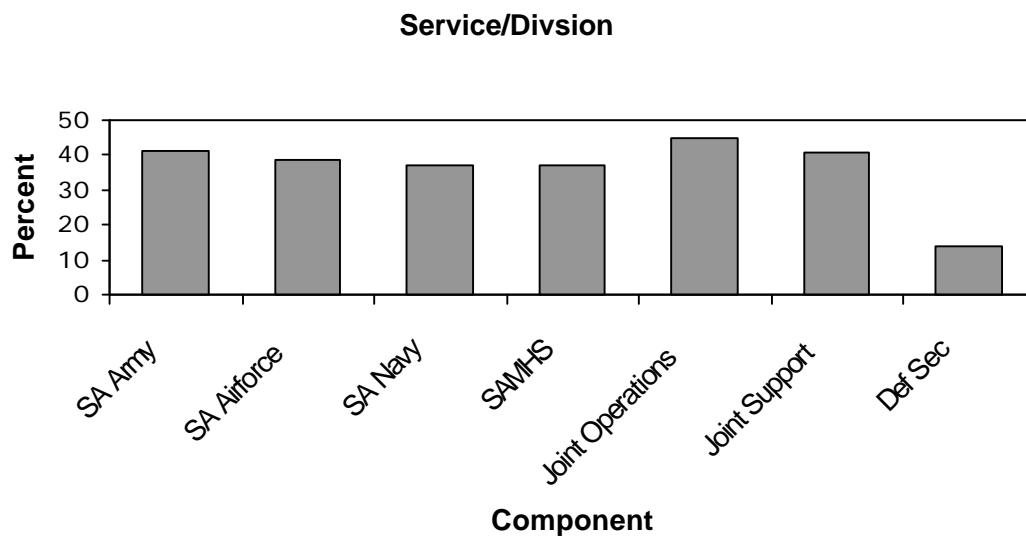
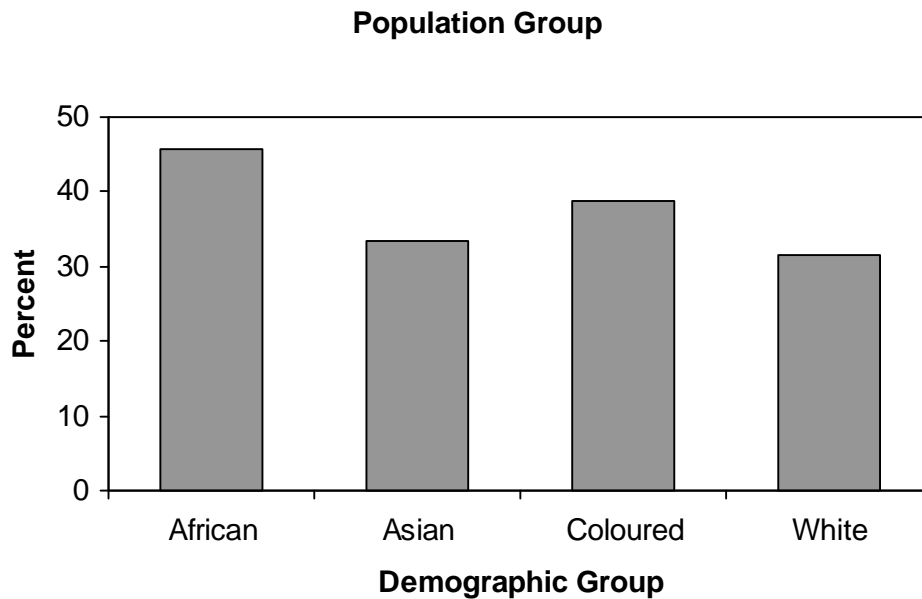


Figure 14. Gays and lesbians do not demand the same respect and obedience from subordinates as heterosexual leaders. (Population Group)



Respondents are more inclined to agree than disagree with the statement that gays in the military will undermine social cohesion: agree/strongly agree (42,6%) and disagree/strongly disagree (31,8%). 25,6% responded in the “uncertain” category. More than half of the respondents in the SAMHS (51,3%) and office of the Secretary for Defence (62,0%) disagree with the statement. See Figures 15 and 16.

Figure 15. Gays in the military will undermine social cohesion (togetherness) (Service/division)

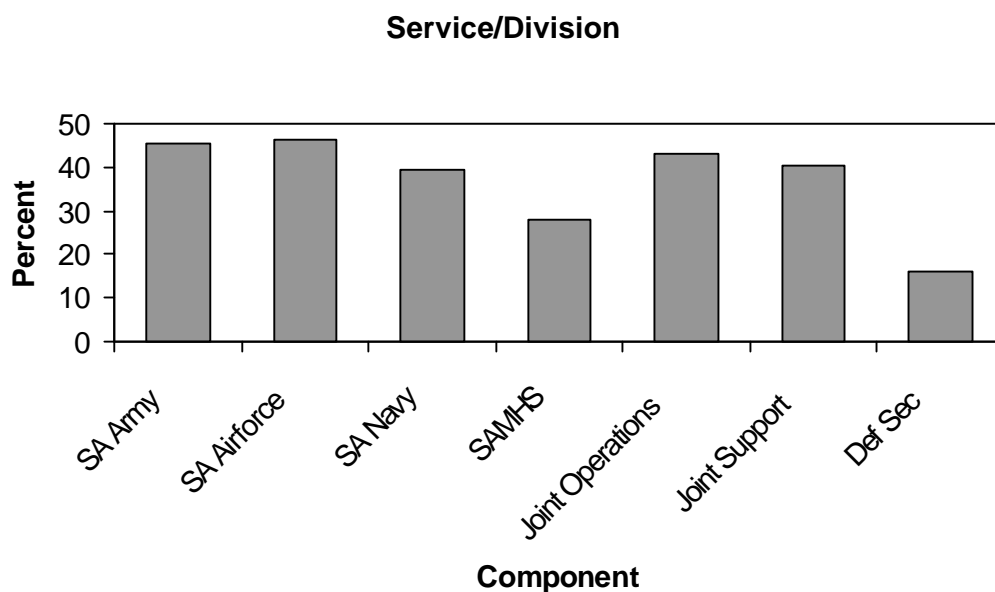
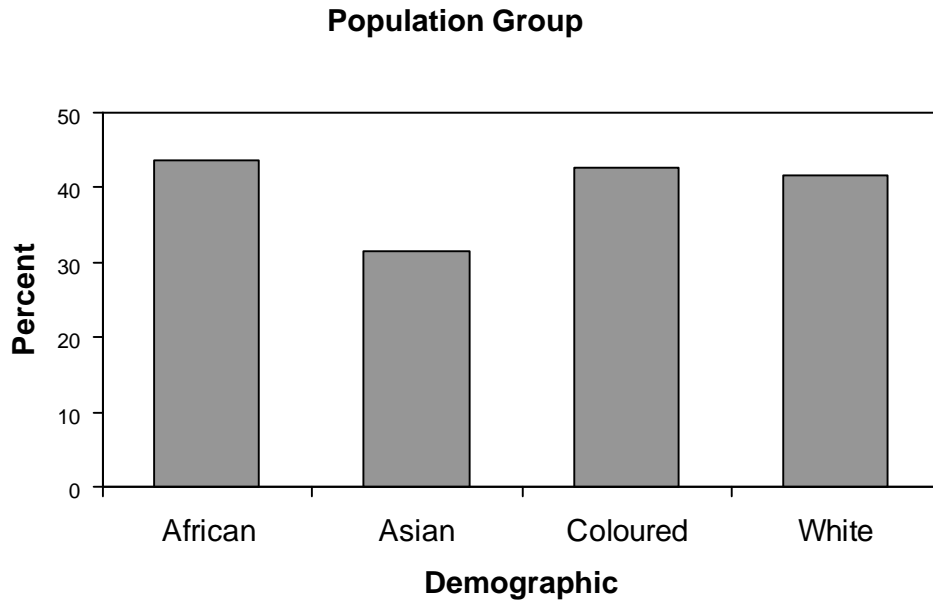


Figure 16. Gays in the military will undermine social cohesion (togetherness) (Population Group)



It seems as if the respondents of the total sample are divided in their reaction to the statement: Gays and lesbians are morally weaker than the heterosexual people. The responses are; agree/strongly agree 31,0%, uncertain 30,9% and disagree/strongly disagree 38,1%. In contrast to the above-mentioned finding, most of the respondents (65,0%) in the sub-group Secretary for Defence disagree with the statement. See Figures 17 and 18.

Figure 17. Gays and lesbians are morally weaker than the heterosexual people (Service/division).

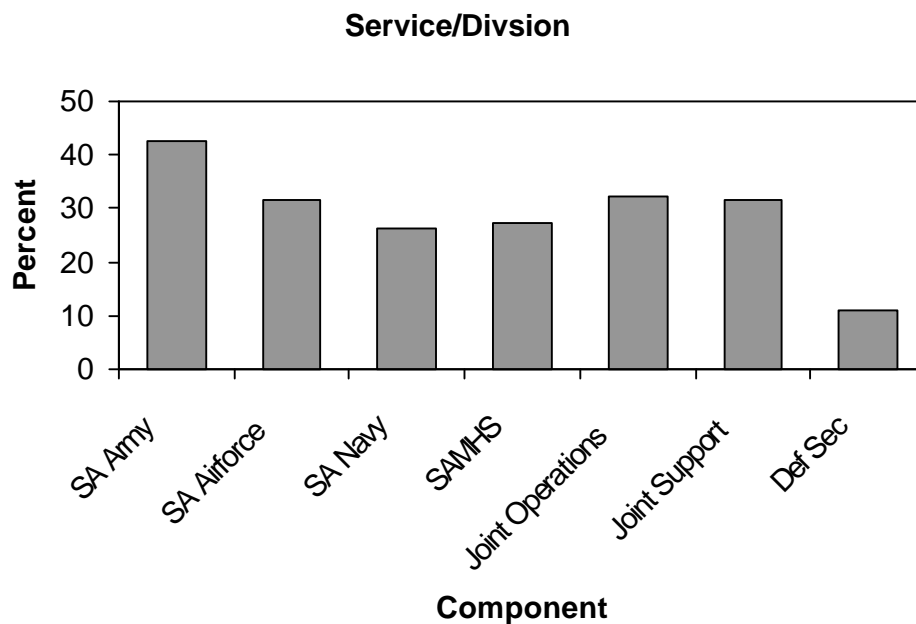
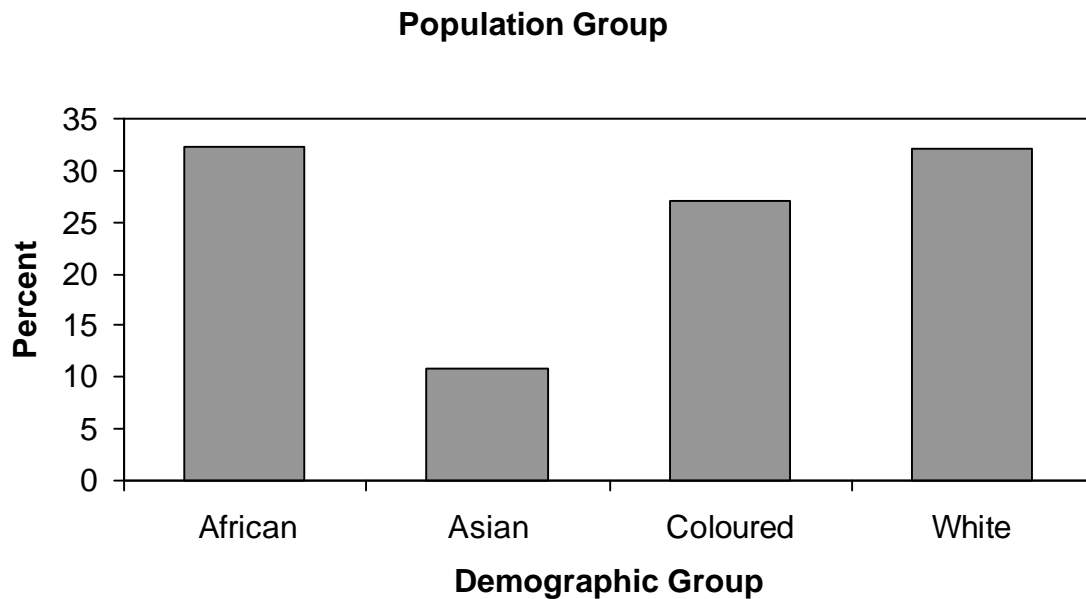


Figure 18. Gays and lesbians are morally weaker than the heterosexual people (Population Group).



It is also important to note that a fairly high percentage of the respondents indicated throughout the survey that they are uncertain.

Conclusion

The conclusion is that the respondents appear very divided on the issues regarding the integration of gays and lesbians in the Department of Defence. The exceptions are respondents of the office of the Secretary for Defence and to some extent the respondents of the SAMHS. The latter two sub-groups are inclined to hold positive attitudes regarding the integration of gays and lesbians.

The results indicated that a lot of prejudice and stereotypes with regard to gays and lesbians still exists in the Department of Defence. On eight of the ten statements contained in the questionnaire, the population responded negatively in respect to the integration of gays and lesbians in the DOD.

References

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No 108 of 1996)

The White Paper on Defence, 1996

Results of the on the integration of gays and lesbians in the Department of Defence

Draft DOD Policy on non-discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation